



THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

JANUARY 30, 1984 Vol. 123 No. 5

A Letter from the Publisher

t has been clear for some time that regardless of wars or celeb-rities. 1984 will be a remarkable news year for Americans. Presidential politics will dominate the scene. The long countdown to the November elections is already well begun as the race

to become Ronald Reagan's Democratic challenger fills columns of print and hours on the air wayes. The summertime conventions seem only a blink away. But July will bring another memorable event: the XXIII Olympiad, the largest Olympic Games ever organized and the first Summer Games held in the U.S. in 52 years. And almost as a prelude comes the first spectacular, the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. There the U.S. is thrusting into competition its most balanced and impressive team ever, one that stars the 1983 world's topranked man and woman skiers as well as Moody and Yugoslav luge team men

America's ever formidable skaters.

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How should TIME react to such a richness of events? The magazine's answer: a "bonus" for TIME's readers of up to 100 color-filled extra pages of editorial content specifically directed to 1984's very special demands. With these additional capabilities, which will cost nearly \$2 million, TIME will be taking an unprecedented step toward giving its readers the dramatic detail and pictorial splendor that are a vital part of the events that



TIME

define our interests and shape our times. TIME's new bonus approach to big news will be used for two Winter Olympics issues. three during the Summer Olympics and two for the political conventions, as well as for any surprise major news event.

TIME begins its bonus coverage this week with a special report on the Winter Olympics, a 24-page section-more than double the length of the average TIME cover-on the men and wom-

en who will compete for the U.S. in the first Olympics of 1984.

This week's special section was put together by TIME's own Winter Olympics team, 31 editors, writers, photographers, correspondents and reporter-researchers. Among them is Atlanta Correspondent B.J. Phillips, who has been with U.S. figure skaters and will follow them to Yugoslavia. The person working on the project longest is Eastern Europe Bureau Chief John Moody, who has been observing preparations in Sarajevo for months, and is now ensconced there in one of the rooms that will accommodate TIME's team at the Pension

Bob, an aptly named hotel near the Olympic bobsled run. Says Moody: "I'm beginning to feel as much a host here as the natives. saying welcome to newcomers and feeling very much at home. A lot of excited newcomers are on the way to see him.

John a mayers

Cover: Photograph by Neil Leifer 18



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Books





t's your turn when all heads



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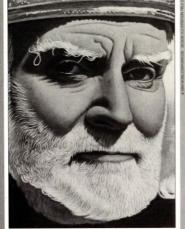
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Linda Young NISTRATION: Charlotte J. Quiggle

Audmens HATION: Controls J. Quiggle CORRESPONDENTS: Boliver Duran (Chief; Dear Fincher, R. Edward Jackson, B. Martin, Correspondents: Studi Hohitens Galver, William Rademakers, Sanly Smith, Peter Soler, Forder Umgehaut

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Arthop J, Libard, William Spencer (Assistant D) (Assistant D) White (Designers); Resemany L, Frank, Dcrothy D. 6 s Layourt: Borjor Nargoleala (Chief); John P, Dowd mfer, Steve Conley, Divid Drapkin, Carroll Durham, ray Withelm Maps and Charts: Plau J. Pugliese. E Barbara Withelm M

and the second secon IOTOGRAPHY: Michele Stephenson Immistration) Researchers: Evelyn Me

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PUBLISHER: John A. Meur

Public Affairs Director: Robert D. Sweeney Promotion Director: Robert D. Sweeney Promotion Director: George P. Berger Circulation Director: En: G. Thorwisen Circumention Director: Life G. Individien Business Manager: Arthur G. Sachs ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER-ADVERTISING SALES DIRECTOR: Richard B. Thomas Rechard B. Thomas U.S. Advertising Sales Director: John J. Crowley Jr. Associate U.S. Adv. Sales Director: Charles D. Hogan

Fair Payment. A system to contain exploding hospital costs.

Hospital costs have been rising three times as fast as the cost of living. But there is a way to contain this explosive inflation. It's called the "Fair Payment" system.

HEALTH

One reason for the inflationary rise in hospital costs is that sometimes the federal government doesn't pay the full cost of services for Medicare and Medicaid patients. When hospitals can't collect from Uncle Sam, they shift the unpaid amount to private patients. And when they can shift costs, they have no incentive to contain costs.

The "Fair Payment" system is a prospective payment system under which all payers, including the government, agree to pay fair prices-set in advance-for the same hospital services. This will stop cost shifting and help contain rising health care costs. It's a system that's already working in several states. Shouldn't it be working in your state?

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Pope Forgives

To the Editors:

Pope John Paul II's prison visit with his would-be assassin [Jan. 9] demonstrates that the ability to forgive is a rare gift. But as the Pontiff has shown, it is possible. As a result, there is hope in this mad world.

Deborah Voss Chicago

The complexity of forgiveness involves the healing of the forgiver as well as the forgiven. By pardoning Mehmet Ali Agca, the Pope helped mend his own rent feelings. To this extent, forgiveness is both selfish and magnanimous.

James R. Heinrich New Castle, Pa.



Robert Frost was right: "To be social is to be forgiving." Your story analyzed the subject of forgiveness with amazing depth and managed to relate ethics, politics and theology in a coherent way.

Donald W. Shriver Jr., President Union Theological Seminary New York City

To the Christian heart, forgiveness should be easy and logical because hate is a greater burden.

Nick Psoras West Chester, Pa.

Your examination of the papal visit to Agea catches precisely the cosmic dimension of the Pope's forgiving act. When all the Casear-us-Gold distinctions have been made, when all the private mortally-uspublic policy nuances have been noted, the fundamental truth remains. Plato put it well when he described the state as "man writ laree."

William F. Reilly, Associate Professor Manhattan College New York City

The courage of Pope John Paul II is clearly a source of admiration and inspiration. It should be remembered, though, Letters

that the same hands that embraced the repentant Mehmet Ali Agea also shook the hand of Yasser Arafat, an unrepentant, notorious murderer. For totally different reasons, both meetings cause deep astonishment and surprise.

Moshe Kam Philadelphia

The Holy Father has given the world, which is so hungry for peace, a personal example of the first step: forgiveness from the heart.

(The Rev.) Maurice Chase Loyola Marymount University Los Angeles

The Pope can afford to forgive his would-be assain. That is his right as an individual. His action is also a manifesto for his flock. Bud on ottell me that those who endured the Nazi furor are supposed to follow the papal example and forgive the mass killings. The victims' ashes and bones, scattered in graves unmarked by a cross or David's star, would be desecrated by such a gesture.

Vera Laska Weston, Mass.

John Paul's action is as shocking today as was Christ's nearly 2,000 years ago. The moral philosophy of Jesus reached beyond tribalistic notions of justice and truth based on retribution and pointed toward a more encompassing vision of humanity. The Pope once again has provided a glimpse of that possibility.

Alan M. Olson, Professor Department of Religion, Boston University Boston

That the Pope should forgive is hardyd surprising. That his session with his would-be murderer should be broadcast i a tribute to his showmanship. But it takes two for a meeting. How was an Islami fanatic turned into a well-behaved young man eager to shake hands with his victim? Brainwashing? A diet of carrots? Conversion? I would like to know what made Asac change his mind.

Alfred Max Les Loges en Josas, France

Seeing the Pope clasp in forgiveness the hand that once tried to kill him makes it easier for us to take the hand of a business rival, a too-loud neighbor, an exfriend or an estranged spouse.

(The Rev.) John T. Myler Belleville, Ill.

Forgiving is the Pope's job. Fred Lyle

Santa Monica, Calif.

Farewell UNESCO

I am deeply concerned by the Reagan Administration's decision to leave UNESCO [Jan. 9]. The United Nations and its agencies offer a forum for world dialogue. If the U.S. is unhappy with the way things are going, it should use diplomatic procedures to bring UNESCO to a more balanced viewpoint. By pulling out, we leave the organization to those with whom we disagree. Lovd Trutelman

New York City

The U.S. has already tried to improve UNESCO from within. The threat of a U.S. withdrawal is our only alternative and might spur UNESCO into reforming its leftist and neootistic ways.

William H. Herrmann New Rochelle, N.Y.

I do not understand how anyone who believes in the freedom of the press could advocate membership in UNESCO.

Paul Theodore Owens Needham, Mass.

There is absolutely no reason for the U.S. to finance a group like UNESCO, whose policies not only fail to improve the world's standard of living but could also be destructive to the U.S.

George A. Bleyle St. Augustine Shores, Fla.

Our withdrawal from UNESCO is reminiscent of the sandlot-baseball chant: "If I can't pitch, I won't play!"

William Stanley Buellton, Calif.

Teller's Position

The letter from me JJan. 91 concerning the Administration's plan to develop space weapons omitted the point I was trying to make and instead implicit the reverse. My position is: Thut has consistently misrepresented President Reagan's proposal, which emphasizes protective rather than retailatory defense. I support the Administration's position. I do not support the idea of space-based battle stations, and I know of only one private group that does.

Edward Teller Hoover Institution Stanford, Calif.

Third Party

In your Essay "What Ever Became of the American Center?" IDe: 2019, you lament the death of the American center. Although you despair of both Democrats and Republicans, you offer the bleak observation that 'Unird parties in America gravitate not only to extremes but to irrelvance. (John Anderson's upcoming presidential campaign will undoubtedly confirm both tendencies.)"

In a country renowned for its diversity and pluralism, it is remarkable that we cling to the notion that there is an essential duality on complex political, economic and social issues. We dismiss out of hand the idea of a strong, viable third party. Yet a new group capable of attracting progressive elements from both the Democrats and the Republicans could launch a political reformation that would truly address our problems.

A new political party must undertake the difficult task of esponsing new ideas that may initially be unpopular or misunderstood. We need a new level of thinking above and beyond the constinuits offered by the two-party system. The old "liberal internationalism" has been inserred because i does not face the been inserred because i does not face the contexpt of balance of power domust uto iting in a narrow channel with the superpowers poised for confrontation on the shores.

John B. Anderson National Unity Committee Washington, D.C.

Suing for Suicide

I was stunned to read about the manwho jumped in front of a subway car in a suicide attempt and then collected a \$550,000 award for his efforts [Jan. 9]. This story illustrates once again the sham our legal system has become. Any sane juror would have made no award and instead would have held the plaintiff's family and attorney responsible for all legal and court costs.

> Stephen J. Loshen Meadowbrook, Pa.

It is sickening to see how well-intentioned laws are twisted to the point of idiocy. I am surprised the jury did not award thousands to the driver of the subway train for his mental anguish.

Fred Tye Evanston, Ill.

Disturbed Daddies

I take exception to the title of your article "Daddy's Disturbed Little Girl" Jan. 21, which discusses the TV show about incest. Incest victims are just that, victims. Put the blame where it belongs: on Disturbed Little Dad and his ever so silent partner. Disturbed Little Mom.

Jan Olson Van Nuys, Calif.

Hidden Meanings

Your Essay on euphemisms (Jan. 9) mainly took to task government officials who deal in doubletaik. But now even veterinarians are getting into the act. NEU-TER IS NEATER said the positir in the vets office. Neuter merely sounds negative. whereas castration implies something final. We decided that we would have our dog neutered.

Tom Gill Columbia, Md.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes in clarity or space.



No matter what you have been told, the world is not filled with freeloaders waiting for an American handout. We know. In 33 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America we support projects based on hard work and self-help. We work with local, grassroots groups who are determined to build a better future for themselves and their families.

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Nation

TIME/JANUARY 30, 1984

Reagan Gets Ready

With the campaign looming, the President unveils his plans for 1984

Pretermine through strength. Economic growth without inflation. A return to old-fashioned values. And no bold proposals that might give voters any doubts about keeping Ronald Reagan in the White House for four more years.

The President, of course, will not phrase his State of the Union speech in quieteach haldly political terms, But when and national-TV comeras Wednesday night. Reagan is expected to sound the thems he will be repeating throughout the 1984 campaign. His official announceued for Standay might, and Reagan suill refuses to confirm publicly what all his aides assume to be as sure as sunrise he will run for re-telection. In any case, the address listed decomment, by by Reagan, as a prlicital document.

One result is that the speech may be as notable for what it does not say as for what it does. At most, Reagan will announce only cosmetic steps to reduce the federal deficit, now estimated at roughly \$185 billion for the 1985 fiscal year. He has ruled out pressing for deep cuts in spending this year: that would only rile voters to no avail. since Congress would reject the cuts anyway. The President also has decided against any significant tax increase this year, and might pledge publicly to oppose any boosts. But he also might calculate that such a vow, while it obviously has political appeal, could backfire if it calls attention to his lack of alternative strategies for stemming the red ink.

Indeed, just about the only headlinecatching initiative in the State of the Union speech will be a proposal to put into orbit a permanent space station filled by rotating crews of astronauts. Otherwise, said one speech drafter, "this is not going to be a litany of new programs or a listing of everything that's going on de-partment by department. We told the Cabinet to forget it." Instead, a draft that Reagan sent back to his aides last week, after personally rewriting two-thirds of it, stressed his accomplishments and hopes for the future. One aide summarized it this way: "The President will say, in effect, 'I said in 1980 that we needed a new beginning. We've made it, but more must be done." Specifically. Reagan planned to hit on these themes

Pondering the State of the Union: Reagan in the White House Oval Office late last week

Foreign Policy. The President is set to contend that his military buildup has strengthened the U.S. to the point that it can, with safety, search more actively for accommodations with the Soviet Union. Reagan titled out his new line in a speech last week, softening his netoric notably to Moscow. But while campaigning as a peacemaker, Reagan will probably insis that he needs every penny of the 17% increase in military spending that he will request for fiscal 1985.

The Economy. The President intends to dwell at length, and with pride, on the vig-

or of the recovery from the 1981-82 recesssion. He will note that unemphoyment in 1983 fell faster than at any other time since the Koream Wart, that instinand prosince the Aream Wart, that instinand prothe Administration's own forecast had envisioned, and that the inflation rate was the lowest in a decade. Those accomplishments, he will conclude, set the stage for a long-poissing of the forecast here for the order of the forecast here for the research of ture.

Social Issues. As in the 1980 campaign, Reagan plans to present himself as a champion of family virtues. Whether he



will bring up in the State of the Union the inght-wing agends of school prayer, antiabortion legislation and tuition tax credits was uncertain at week's end, but if he does not, he will probably pitch for it in the campaign. Said one top adviser who has no doubts about the President's candidacy." He is already talking about pressing the social issues more in the second term than he did in the first."

The bad news will follow the State of the Union speech by only seven days. On Feb. J. Reagan will send his budget to Congress. It will not only show a faceal-1985 deficit barety below the record \$195 billion a year by the end of the decade. Comlow a year by the end of the decade. Comtion a year by the end of the decade. Comtion years the the end of the decade. Comnin Feddrein asserted tast week that the Administration's roug forceases of economic growth would be "appropriate" only if the deficits are sharply reduced.

But any serious White House attack on budget shortfalls will wait until after the election. In the State of the Union address, Reagan intends to repeat his longheld view that deficits must eventually be cut by drastic reductions in Government spending. In the budget, however, he will





indiscreet again: OMB Director Stockman

propose only minor changes that net out to a reduction in planned outlays of a piddling 54 billion, or less than two-thirds of 1% of nomilitary spending. A mong other things, the Administration has dropped a proposal to make Medicare patients pay more of the early costs of hospitalization in return for Government assumption of all bills after the 60th day. It saw no point in risking the wath of elderly voters by putting forward a plan that Congress would probably reject.

n debates within the Administration over the speech draft. Feldstein, Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman and Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige contended that Reagan should at least renew a proposal he made reluctantly last year for a three-year, \$50 billion tax increase, conditional on congressional approval of deep spending cuts and a string of other "ifs." But Reagan's philosophical convictions make him loath to propose any tax increase any time, and his political sensibilities make him doubly loath to do such a thing in an election year. At one point, aides inserted in a State of the Union draft a plan to appoint a bipartisan commission to make recommendations on how to attack the deficits. But Reagan is leaning against that idea, essentially because he sees no political mileage in it

Frustration over such defeats drove Stockman to the brink of insubordination. In an interview in FORTUNE, he castigated "dreamers, including some in the Administration." who think the deficit can be sharply reduced by spending cuts. He derided the idea that "there are vast pockets of fraud, waste and abuse out there' that could be eliminated painlessly. The clear implication was that taxes must be raised. Though his comments were reminiscent of those he made to the Atlantic in 1981, which sent him to Reagan's "woodshed" and nearly cost him his job. the Administration this time shrugged off Stockman's views. Said one Cabinet member: You don't pay much attention to com-



For more taxes: Economic Adviser Feldstein

ments from the losing locker room."

Reagan will be taking much heavier flak from Congress, which is also preoccupied by the campaign. On foreign policy, the President may be hard pressed to head off a Senate Foreign Relations Committee resolution that would call for removal of the Marines from Lebanon as early as Feb 25. The legislators are also certain to reduce the President's militaryspending requests.

The deficit will be another focus of contreversy, and not all of it will be partian. Kansas Republican Robert Dobe, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, is planning to bring up again a plan to cut the deficit by 5150 billion over three years through a combination of teamilitary section, slower growth in entitlement programs such as Social Secutions and the Democritic-controlled House. Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Restenkowskii swilling to support a bill for a tax boost "as high as we can get it."

The propects are, however, that such ambitious congressional efforts will produce little but loud wrangling; they cannot pass without Reagan's support. Says Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia: "The President is the one man who can get to the people and explain the need for what is required. He simply won't do that." Indeed, there is some talk in Congress of passing the bare minimum of legislation needed to keep the Government running, then adjourning before the political conventions. That way, lawmakers could spend most of the summer and fall trying to get themselves re-elected. Whatever comes of that idea. it underscores the main point of this year's prospects. Formally, the White House and Congress this week will be solemnly contemplating the State of the Union. Unofficially, but unmistakably, they will be contemplating even more solemnly the state of politics. -By George J. Church. Reported by David Beckwith and Douglas Brew/ Washington



Now the Real Debate Begins

Mondale survives at Dartmouth, but the pack is still baying



The debate itself lasted three hours. The debate over who won still rages. No sooner had the eight candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination stopped vy-

ing for the attention of TV Talk Show Host Phil Donahue, waving their arms like excited schoolchildren, than their camp followers began vying for the attention of the press to declare victory

Spectacular!" crowed James Johnson, Walter Mondale's acting campaign chairman, relieved that the front runner had not fallen. "It makes Gary Hart the emerging dark-horse candidate." declared his deputy campaign manager. David Landau. The debate transformed Jesse Jackson from "black candidate" to 'national candidate," claimed Jackson's national-issues coordinator. Frank Watkins. John Glenn's organization quickly turned the adulatory reactions of six New Hampshire voters into a radio ad. A little too quickly: the voters' reactions had been taped before the debate. The ad had to be pulled off the air and redone

Actually, there was no clear winner or loser-unless, as some leading Democrats lamented, it was President Reagan. The debate, sponsored by the House Democratic Caucus, was held on the snow-covered New Hampshire campus of Dartmouth College. For the first 11/2 hours, all the candidates responded to the evenhanded questioning of ABC Newsman Ted Koppel (see PRESS) with measured campaign statements. In the second 11/2 hours, most were goaded into sharper exchanges by Donahue, who hopped about with his microphone soliciting questions from the audience and throwing in some zingers of his own

For the candidates, many of whom have been laboring in relative obscurity. the debate was an opportunity to define their appeals before a public-television audience of perhaps 10 million. It also gave the pack a chance to test Front Runner Mondale. The most dramatic challenge came at the 21/2-hour mark, when Glenn took to the attack. As Mondale explained how he was going to cut the federal budget deficit. Glenn interjected that Mondale was spouting "the same vague gobbledygook of nothing." Waving his fist, Glenn protested. "There wasn't a single figure attached to that

'Hold it," interrupted Mondale. Glenn charged ahead: "Let me finish. I'm disgusted and tired of all the vague prom-" Now Mondale got worked up. ises. 'Point of personal privilege!" he shouted. But Glenn would not yield: he blamed the Carter Administration for its "21% interest rates" and declared, "That's why we lost the White House." Shot back Mondale: "There's just been about a six-minute speech, all of it baloney.

Mondale had resisted a wide-open debate precisely because he worried about such a confrontation. But most observers agreed that he did not suffer any serious wounds. Said fellow Candidate George McGovern: "It's clear that Mondale gained more than anyone else from the debate by not being hurt during it. As the front runner going in, all he had to do was not make any mistakes, and he didn't."

At moments, though, Mondale sounded more petulant than presidential. Several times, his challengers scored solid debating points. The former Vice President has built his early edge partly by handing out tous to Democratic constituencies like labor, minority groups and Jewish organizations. "Fritz, you cannot lead this country if you have promised everybody everything," chided Hart. Mondale lamely replied, "America is nothing if it isn't promises." When Reubin Askew attacked Mondale's support of protectionist legislation that would require that cars sold in the U.S. contain a high percentage of U.S. labor and parts. Mondale huffed, "It's about time someone stood up for the American worker." Fired back Askew: What about the American consumer?"

While Glenn managed to show flashes of fire and a grasp of issues. few Democrats thought that he gained at Mondale's expense. Some Democrats felt Glenn hurt himself-and the party-by pinning the blame for high deficits on Jimmy Carter as well as Ronald Reagan. Said a Western Governor: "He hasn't shown that he has the makings of a good politician." Glenn's aides countered that the exchange with Mondale made their candidate look "forceful."

The Glenn campaign was jolted at midweek, when a Washington Post-ABC News national poll found that Glenn "apparently did himself the least good" in the debate. Among voters who watched, Glenn trailed Mondale 49% to 5%, compared with 51% to 16% among those not watching. Furious. Glenn's camp argued that the polling sample (including only 160 registered or likely Democrats in New Hampshire) was far too small to be meaningful, a point with which most polling analysts agreed. Glenn campaign aides have been telling reporters that the Gallup poll was the most reliable measuring stick of their man's strength. By coincidence, the very next day Gallup announced results of a poll conducted mainly before the debate: it showed Mondale a whopping 31 points ahead, 47% to 16%.

The candidates behind Mondale and Gen had little to lose in the debate. Two-thirds of the voters polled by the Post beforehand said they did not know enough about Hart. Askew. Alan Cranson or Ernest Hollings to have an opinion. The skirmish in Hanover gave the second-tier candidates a chance to shape opinion—with mixed results:

 Hart appeared to benefit: Said Landau: Our volume of leephone calls has skyrocketed. Han's staff was the only once to rocket and the staff was the only once to rocket and the staff was the data taken we do the staff of the staff of the staff of the day. Critic private polls. Har's aides call the staff of the staff of the staff anative to the front runners. With Glenn the staff of the staff o

Jesse Jackson was already well known for his civil rights efforts and for winning the release of downed Navy Flyer Robert Goodman from Syria. For the debate, reported TIME Correspondent Jack E. White, Jackson shaved the tips off his Zapata-style mustache and dropped his usual rhymes and alliterations. His aim was to become a "general market" candidate appealing to more than just blacks and the poor. To a degree, Jackson succeeded. "He seemed 'statesmanlike.' ' said Iowa Democratic Vice Chairman Barbara Leach, a Hart supporter. After the debate, Jackson stepped up his attacks on Mondale, trying to drive home the message that he is a genuine alternative to the front runner, not just someone out to spur black voter registration.

To Jackson's chagrin, the Democratic National Committee flatly refused at week's end to open up the delegate-selection rules, which he claims favor party regulars like Mondale. Jackson's organiaxion has been able to document only about \$100,000 of the \$400,000 raised so far, in order to obtain federal matching funds, and has missed the filing deadlines for the Nevada. Rhode Island and Puerto Rico delegate selections. Moreover. Jackson has been enjoying a honeymoon. not only with the press but with the other candidates. They have been respectiful of his debate asked him why he dyed his sparse har, his smile looked a little forced. He sheepshily answered that he was trying to keep up with Moderators Koppel and Donahue. Cranston's one-note campaign for a nuclear freeze appears to be melting, though his antinuke supporters could be an effective wapon in the lowa caucuses. which favor organized activists. Cranston said last week that he would almost surely



"Glenn leads with a gobbledygook to the throat, Mondale counters with a baloney to the eye, Glenn

bid to become the first black to contend seriously for the nomination, and mesmerized by his brilliant speaking and charismatic style. In the debate and on the hustings, Jackson's positions have yet to be vigorously challenged.

· Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina is perhaps the only candidate who is as quick-witted as Jackson, or more so. He is unafraid to take risky positions, like backing a restoration of the draft and freezing all Government spending for a year to reduce the deficit. But during the debate his wit turned nasty when he snapped at Askew, "You listen! You've got a tic in your ear too." Askew has a slight facial tic. Said a friend of Hollings': "It was as bad as James Watt talking about the woman, the black and the cripple. It revealed a meanness." To be a contender. Hollings will have to finish in the top three in New Hampshire, an unlikely prospect

 Former Horida Governor Askee may have carred sympathy from Hollings' atlack, but he appeared (so eager to overcome his hopeless) low poil standing. Last week he failed to get the one vote he needed most: the endorsement of the right-wing Manchester, N.H., Joinn Leader, which has considerable influence carries counted by Askew. The newspace lambasted all the candidates with a pungent headline. SNAE (ES 111: STI-WIT FROM YULR-SVAE LS LNL STI-WITS FROM YULR-SVAE LS ADM.)

 Senator Alan Cranston of California has struggled to overcome his age (69) and bald, gaunt appearance. When a woman at the quit the race if he did not break out of the pack in Iowa or New Hampshire.

 George McGovern, the party's badly beaten nominee in 1972, seemed gentle, avuncular and irrelevant. His most memorable statement was to urge his colleagues not to gang up on Mondale.

An Anyone-but-Mondale movement does not appear to be gathering, at least not yet. Said Hart's campaign manager. Oliver Henkel: "We're not in a stop-Mondale mood." Still, many Democrats fear that Mondale would be no match for Reagan. They contrast the image last week of Reagan making a televised plea for peace with the Soviets with the spectacle of the Democrats wrangling in a college auditorium. Said one top party official: "Democrats standing in a circle shooting each other won't beat Reagan." If the Democrats have compelling alternatives to Reagan's policies, they were not able to present any in the din at Dartmouth.

His lead in the polls notwithstanding. Mondale still has not generated much intensity among voters "He's being too cautious," says Pat Butler, an editor of the Fairmont (Minn.) Daily Sentinel. "If he doesn't get more specific, he might blow it." As the debate showed. Mondale has some hard questions to answer, such as how he really plans to reduce the deficit and pay off all those promises to interest groups. His high perch is fragile. Beneath him, the hounds are milling and jumping, barking to be heard By Evan Thomas. Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington and Christopher Ogden/ Chicago, with other bureaus

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Politics as Gong Show

Last week in Ames, Jowa, real farmers asked Democratic presidential candidates questions about agriculture, which the farmers feel is in dismal condition. The idea was to get a measure of the knowledge and concern of these woulds be Presidents. In a couple of week, a debate sponored by the Des Moines *Register* will allow these men to question one another and answer a few queries from the newspaper's scholarly Washington bureau will falmes. Rises and a few more from knowledgeable fowans. No Phil Donahue, no Ted Koppel, no Hollywed Jowann are alwaysh and a bit more than their share of good sense.

Perhaps some time in the past 25 years, in a superpower summit somewhere or in one of the great legislative struggles in Washington, the day was won by a President standing on a stage and waggling his finger at his adversary and outshouting him. If so, the event has not been recorded.

Theatrics is a legitimate part of statecraft. But how much? The principal memory from the great New Hampshire debate a fortnight ago was the doglight between John Ghenn and Walter Mondale. The spectacle was geared for combat. "Let's go to it." exulted Koppel. Donahue was the designated baiter. Zap, pow, thud! If the candidates could do that to one another, think what they could do to that you for the spectrum of the spect

the deficits, Pentagon cost overruns and those nasty types in Latin America. That one of the prob-

lems of governing today is the excessive partisanship of Republicans and Democrats seems not to have bothered the television impresarios, who appear determined to make the campaign the biggest Gong Show of this singular year. "Politics became fun," burbled Washington Tom Post TV Critic Shales. "National fun on live TV ... nearly as action-packed as The A-Team." Will the political ducers and scriptwriters-



handlers, consultants, pro- Mondale rebutting rivals in last week's debate

a flourishing industry now in league with the media—turn this campaign into a litany of despair, with each candidate exaggerating America's problems in order to sell his own solutions? Pray for a triumph of calm consideration and enlightenment in the lowa experience.

When the Democratic candidates were asked at Hanover if Ronald Reagan had done anything worthwhile in three years, there was silence except for a flip answer from Mondaie. 'I think one of the fine things they did was to get rid of James Watt.' That silence was distingenous, since Reagan obviously had done a forw sorthy things. It was also can use a since a since a since and some way. But the President has also often rid the political charges.

How much better off we would be if Reagan had buried partianship back in the summer of 1981 and taken Spearer Tip O Neill's budget compromise, which would have held down the deficits that now threaten to bury us. How much better off we would be if Reagan had muted his ire at the Soviet Union and heeded the public's nuclear-arms concerns.

No wonder a thoughtful man like Theodore Sorensen, who was John Kennedy's special counsel, criseo uit in a provocative new book (A Differm Kind of Presidency: Harper & Rowi for a startling departure by some candidate to stop the paralyzing particular wranging. Sociensen suggests naming a Vwe President parties so that Democrats and Republicants could attack national problems instead of one another. The Washington Para I based Broder, an homored political pundit, immediately dismissed the Sovensen idea as unfeasible and cash his vote for the prevailing sentiment in the political abovering that the duy of candidates is the provide provide the source of the sovensen idea as unfeasible and cash his vote is the prevailing sentiment in the political abovering that the duy of candidates is the prevailing of the provide the sovensen idea as unfeasible and cash his vote in the source of the prevailing that the duy of candidates is the prevailing of the sovensen index as uncleast paratement is the source of the sovensen is the source of the prevailing the the duy of the prevailing the the duy of the prevailing the the duy of the prevailing the the sovensen is the source of the prevailing the the sovensen is the source of the prevailing the the sovensen is the source of the prevailing the the sovensen is the sovense of the prevailing the the sovensen is the sovense of the sovense is the sovense of the sovensen is the sovense of the sovense of the sovense is the sovense of th

Cheap Shot

Cutting loans for poor nations

The U.S. reputation for international openhandenses has failed at hit more. At a rancorous three-day meeting in Washington artifictis month, the World Bank's 35 vealthiest member nations measure that the sense of the sense of the velopment Association (IDA), an agency of the bank that makes interest-free loans to more than 40 of the world's povers in some than 40 of the world's povers in the than 40 of the world's povers in the bank's management.

Most donor nations supported a \$12 billion compromise budget, but it fell through because the Reagan Administration trimmed the annual U.S. contribution from nearly \$1 billion to \$750 million. The other members were then left with a hard choice: increase their own donations to get the total up to \$12 billion. which would have dropped the U.S. share below 25%, violating an informal agreement reached last year, or lower the budget total to keep the American donation at 25% In the end, the nations decided it was more important, as a matter of precedent, to keep the U.S. shouldering a quarter of the burden, and so they lowered their contributions accordingly

President Reagan settled on the 5750 million figure and ybcember, over the objections of Secretary of State George Shulz, who advocated a 5950 million annual contribution. Reagan cited congressional reluctance is contribute more than not molify World Bark President AW Clausen. an American. Stati de: "Te always believed the President of the U.S. can get anything he really wants".

Shortly after Reagan took office, the U.S. Treasury Department conducted a study of multilateral lending institutions. The report challenged criticism that the IDA was, as Republican Congressman Mickey Edwards of Oklahoma had put it. "a giant worldwide welfare program." But it nonetheless recommended that the U.S. cut back on its IDA contributions. If credit-worthy beneficiaries like India (which now gets one-third of the IDA's largesse) and China were forced to borrow at the bank's subsidized interest rates, according to the report, the poorer countries could receive higher levels of aid. To qualify for the grants, which, technically, must be repaid within 50 years, a country must have a per capita income of less than \$800

The cutback drew fire both internationally and at home. Stat Stewn Burmester, a World Bank expert on sub-Sahara Africa: "This means that people will starve" Declared C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics, a Washington-based think tank. "It is shortsighted in terms of the United States' own economic interests and the world economy."



dieton receives a dissent ing statement from Berry before the news conference

A Declaration of Independence

Conservatives change the course of a federal panel

F or a brief moment last week it seemed that the members of the new Commission on Civil Rights might banish whatever bitterness they harbored from last year's skirmishes and stand together. The commissioners answered Democrat Walter Mondale and others who criticized them as puppets of the Reagan Administration with a blunt statement: "The commission belongs to no one ... and will serve no political ideology or special interest. That is the meaning of our independence. It is uncompromisable

That promising display of solidarity. however, was soon overshadowed by a blitz of controversial decisions and internal struggles. At a two-day session in Hunt Valley. Md., the new commission's conservative majority dominated the liberal members. By a 5-to-3 vote, the group decided to cancel an investigation of how cutbacks in student financial aid affected colleges where most students were black or Hispanic, and by a 6-to-2 vote, it came out against the Detroit police department's use of numerical quotas for the promotion of blacks to lieutenant.

The controversy over the commission first erupted last May, when President Reagan replaced three members with appointees who shared his opposition to racial quotas and busing. "We wanted our own people," said White House Counsellor Edwin Meese. Two of the sacked members. Mary Frances Berry and Blandina Cardenas Ramirez, sued in federal court for an injunction forbidding their removal. arguing that the action violated the commission's legal status as an independent body. More than 30 Senators and 19 Representatives lined up to sponsor a bipartisan resolution to have commission members appointed by Congress rather than by the President. After much negotiating, a compromise was reached: the new Civil Rights Commission would have eight members, four to be appointed by the Presup resulted in a conservative majority.

Berry and Ramirez were the dissenters in the 6-to-2 vote that opposed the affirmative-action plan of the Detroit police department. The commission's statement deplored the use of quotas, saying that they create "a new class of victims" by denying equal rights to majority groups. Said Reagan Appointee Morris Abram, a prominent Democratic lawyer: "Nothing will ultimately divide a society more than this kind of reverse discrimination

In a lively news conference at the end of the Hunt Valley meeting. Berry confronted Abram and Chairman Clarence Pendleton Jr., an earlier Reagan appointee who had been in a conservative minority on the old commission. Said Pendleton: "I sat at this commission for 18 months and got beat up all kinds of ways

Now [the new members] are here, and we are going to do the best job we can for the American citizens " Berry, who could hardly conceal her disdain for the chairman, said that the commission "is no longer the conscience of America on civil rights" and added, "I despair for women and minorities in this country.

The commission, established under President Eisenhower in 1957, has no enforcement powers. Its members and staff can only investigate discrimination and make public recommendations on how to eliminate injustices. Although the Supreme Court declined to review the Detroit case, there are two other similar suits pending. One concerns the New Orleans police department and the other the Memphis fire department: both involve hiring policies for minorities. The commissioners will no doubt continue their ideological battles when deciding what to recommend in these cases. Each side will fight to preserve its own notion of an independent commission .

Bleak Portraits

Two surveys of black privation

t first glance it certainly looked like a A great year for American blacks. Staring out from newsstands for much of the year were three compelling examples of how far they had come in 1983: Vanessa Williams, the first black Miss America; Guion Bluford Jr., the first black American astronaut in space: and, of course, Presidential Candidate Jesse Jackson. However, according to the National Urban League's annual survey. "The State of Black America," released last week, these were the exceptions in a year otherwise notable for its stunning lack of progress for most of the country's 28 million blacks. Declared Urban League President John E. Jacob: "Black America is in desperate straits

The Urban League's statistical portrait was one of intractable ioblessness and poverty, even in the face of a robust national recovery. In December, the national unemployment rate fell to 8.2%, the lowest in more than two years. But for blacks, whose jobless rate traditionally is roughly double that for whites, the unemployment rate was a dispiriting 17.8%. Almost half of all black teen-agers who wanted to work were unable to find a job. Moreover, the percentage of black families at or below the Government's official poverty line-\$9.862 for a family of fourwas almost three times that of whites, the worst rate since 1967. Half of all black children live in families with incomes helow the poverty line Black America, Jacob said, remains "buried in

a depression of crushing proportions."

Economic burdens were particularly heavy in the black households headed by women, 42% of the total. More than half of these women lacked a high school diploma: three-fifths did not have jobs. The poverty rate for these femaleheaded black families a John Jacob worrisome 45%



The Urban League's bleak findings were bolstered by another report released the same day that dealt with job discrimination. In a survey of major companies in the Boston area, the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) found blacks severely underrepresented in key industries. Even though minorities are generally better educated in Boston than in most other areas of the U.S., they are disproportionately concentrated in lower-paying jobs. Not one of Boston's electric, gas and sanitary-service companies has minority sales employees. Even custodian jobs in investment firms are, according to the EEOC, "totally segregated." Fumed Regional Director Thomas Saltonstall: "This isn't Baton Rouge in 1864. It is Boston in 1984. The situation is appalling." .

Telling Tales

Mad. mad Lerov Barnes

E ven the judge was shocked. After lis-tening to hours of testimony about a multimillion-dollar drug-distribution network involving hired killers with a penchant for chain saws. U.S. District Judge Milton Pollack marveled that

such iniquities "could be so coldbloodedly related." Yet the tales so coolly told in court helped indict 44 major traffickers and convict 16. The man doing the talking was Leroy ("Nicky") Barnes. a.k.a. "Mr. Untouchable." Barnes fingered Frank James, his ex-partner in drug dealing, for ordering his brother-in-law ice-picked to death. James, said Barnes, employed a four-man hit team; one aspiring Spilling the beans killer slew a random passer-by as an audition for the job.

Barnes, 51, won his notoriety when, as the most flamboyant member of a Mafiastyle council of seven "blood brothers." he earned millions distributing heroin throughout Harlem. In 1977 he was finally nailed, and the sentence was stiff: life imprisonment without possibility of parole. Six years later. Mr. Untouchable turned into Mr. Tell All.

Even though Barnes claimed last year that he would seek Executive clemency and adopted a repentant tone ("My whole

life was shallow"), such meekness will

probably go for naught. Barnes volunteered to talk for no more than the assur-

ance that his cooperation would be brought to the attention of the Govern-

ment. U.S. prosecutors, who last week

produced a 19-page memo detailing

Barnes' cooperation, insist that the one

man who has the power to grant clemen-

cy. the President, is hardly likely to give

Nicky Barnes

even as much as a chance for pa-

role. Asks Assistant U.S. Attor-

ney Philip Douglas: "What Pres-

ident wants to go on record as

having reduced the sentence of

a more credible explanation, es-

pecially since he had to impli-

cate himself in eight murders in

order to explain what his former

friends did. Prosecutors believe

that after switching prisons in

1981. Barnes began getting

more news from the outside

world, and he did not like what he heard.

He came to believe that his lawyers

were swindling him. his former blood

brothers had cut into his turf, and one

had started an affair with Barnes' favorite

reach to get to 'em, and I want to get back

at 'em. That's my primary reason." If re-

venge is indeed his reward, then his long

life behind bars may be a bit sweeter: he

has made it certain that his blood brothers

will share his prison life.

Testified Barnes: "I have no way to

Barnes' lust for vengeance is

Coming Clean

Bay Staters scramble to pay up

he scene was reminiscent of an unem-T ployment office. But the thousands of grim-faced men and women who lined up in the office of the Massachusetts revenue department in downtown Boston last week were there to give money, not take it. Marveled one tax examiner: "It's the first time I've seen taxpayers storming the doors of the revenue department

With good reason. Last year the state legislature made tax evasion, which had been a misdemeanor, a felony with a maximum sentence of five years in prison But it gave delinquents a 90-day grace period, ending last week, to pay their back taxes plus interest. The opportunity persuaded an astounding 130,000 tax dodgers to open their checkbooks, and netted the state approximately \$50 million. Exclaimed Revenue Commissioner Ira Jackson: "The amnesty has been extremely successful.

An out-of-state Fortune 500 company coughed up \$1 million. Other checks have ranged from 8¢ to \$287,000. In last week's queue: a middle-aged widow who had discovered that her late husband had failed to pay a 1973 state tax bill for \$52.70. With interest, she now owed the state more than \$200. The startling results have inspired Native Son Tip O'Neill, Speaker of the House, to call for a congressional study of a federal tax amnesty program.

Urban Homesteaders



They are raised, one-level, ranchstyle houses, stoutly suburban and freakishly out of place amid the decaying tenements and grimy rubble of New York's South Bronx. Ten have gone up since October, and 80 more will be delivered by next fall, assembled on site at the rate of one a day. The new housing project on Charlotte Street, one of the most abject and unsavory slums in the country. was so unprecedented there that

when the first owners moved in last December, cynical neighbors called them "pioneers

Shoe Shop Owner David Rivera. 35. and his wife Irma, 33, were the first to settle into the new project, genteelly christened Charlotte Gardens. Proudly showing off his fully equipped three-bedroom house with its cathedral ceilings. plush carpeting and small backyard. David notes. "This is a hell of a deal compared with the hellhole we lived in before." The Riveras jumped at the chance to desert their often heatless \$400-a-month rental apartment near by. They took possession of their new \$47.000 home with an initial \$7.500, and will pay a mortgage of \$370 a month

Charlotte Gardens is the project of a nonprofit local agency, the South Bronx Development Organization, which five years ago took on the burden of salvaging the neighborhood. Until recently the area was so celebrated a symbol of urban decay that Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan both traveled there to voice concern and promise federal assistance that never quite seemed to materialize. Instead, the development organization, noting the success of a few tenants association takeovers and restorations, concluded that owner occupancy of South Bronx buildings would spur reconstruction. The first 90 homes have already been sold, more than half to South Bronx residents.



The Riveras, above left, and the new South Bronx project



Among the loot: a grain silo, a collection of Tiffany glass pieces and a floating drydock

Calling In the Marshals

New guardians take over the Government's bothersome booty

In Florida and Texas expensive vessels selved by the Drug Enforcement Administration clutter waterways and marinas accumulating barnacles Along the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, a drug dealer's former Xanadu called Castler Hayne, complete with swimming pool and 22-hore stables, sits uninhabited. In the other and the site of the stables of the dealer of the stables are also also also we don't know where to put the thing." an agent says of the confiscated treasure "It won't it, in the vault"

Since 1978, federai agents have had the legal authority to strike at the lifeblood of organized crime and drug cartles by confiscialing property or assets that can be traced to illicit profils. The program has been so successful that it has resulted in an administrative nightmare the costly through any strike the transfer of the storage maintenance sale and disposal of the subhase has unwidely body. This section of from the first and other laws-enforcement agencies and placed on the shoulders of the U.S. Marshals Service.

The traditional duties of federal marshals include apprehending fugitives. guarding dangerous prisoners and protecting witnesses in organized-crime cases. Their new job may be as challenging as any of the others. Some 49 pieces of real estate worth \$8.4 million and 36 airplanes worth \$7.3 million were confiscated last year by the DLA, roughly twice as much as the year before. The Justice Department last year seized more than \$100 million worth of property and other assets Among the diverse booty that must be managed and eventually sold: a jewelry store in Mississippi, a grain silo in Iowa, a floating drydock in Hawaii. 123 beef hindquarters in Pennsylvania and 1,700 cases of toothpaste seized in New Jersey

Skeptics wonder whether the Mar-

shals Service can cope. It certainly cannot do worse than the DEA and other agencies that lacked the resources necessary to handle the goods. Congress's General Accounting Office found that property seized during fiscal year 1981 had been so poorly maintained that cars and trucks brought only 58% of their true value. boats 43% and aircraft 35%. (Drugs are burned.) Confiscated businesses have presented a particular problem. Consider the strange case of Rex Cauble, millionaire rancher, owner of the wildly successful Cutter Bill western-wear stores and kingpin of the "Texas Mafia." who smuggled tons of marijuana into the Lone Star State during the late 1970s. Cauble's corporate empire was so complex that agents felt he was the only person who could manage it efficiently. So while he was out on bail, the DEA paid Cauble \$10,000 a year to run his business. They fired Cauble, however, when they discovered he was running the company into the ground. He was eventually convicted and sentenced to five years in prison

The U.S. Marshals Service hopes to avoid such embarrassing quandaries by hiring experts from the private sector to oversee confiscated businesses. In addition, legislation currently in Congress served property Proceeds from the saite of contiscated items would be returned to the fund.

Stanley Morris director of the Marshals Service says that other agencies are relieved to be rid of the loot-keeping burden, which had led to charges of theft and corruption. "We want to come up with a system that assures a high degree of integrity." In says. Notes DLA Agent William Connee of Los Angeles "We're glad to hand it over to them."

Heist City

Tempting targets in L.A.

More movies are made around Los Anthe U.S. More Mercedes-Benzes are sold there than in any other American city. more guacamole is served, more tans are perfectly maintained Also, more banks are robbed there, many more. Last fiscal year in Los Angeles and its environs there were 1.720 bank heists, compared with 546 in San Francisco, the country's secondplace stick-'em-up city, 443 in New York City, 132 in Baltimore and just 56 in Chicago. Indeed, nearly one out of three U.S. bank robberies takes place in the sevencounty purview of the FBI's Los Angeles office. The last day without a bank holdun was Oct. 4. 1979 Says Lieutenant Joe Patterson of the Los Angeles County sheriff's robbery squad "The word is out on the street, in jail, among junkies. 'Hey, man, if you're hurting, go to the bank

Even as bank robberies are generally declining in the U.S. (down 111) during the first half of 1983), they are growing more rampant in Los Angeles tup 18% last year) The Friday before Christmas set a new daily record 21 banks robbed One reason is that Southern California just has a great many banks to rob, about 3.000 outlets by the IBI's reckoning. In addition, as the song says, L.A is a great big freeway the vast road system makes etaways easier. Still, the FBI says threefourths of Los Angeles' bank robberies are solved. Bad odds for the crooks, but rational analysis is not the strong suit of drug addicts, who the I BI believes are responsible for some 70% of the crimes

he banks have been reluctant to take т defensive measures Says Robert Brosio, the U.S. Attorney's chief prosecutor: "The banks are so open and available, it's an invitation to robbery. They have been seriously negligent in construction and design. For instance, bullet-resistant "bandit barriers." common in other large cities, are scarce in mellow Los Angeles. You need a warm, inviting place to do business," explains Stephen Ward, security director for the Crocker Bank. Nor are more secure designs necessarily worth the cost: for all the heists, the banks lose only \$4 million a year to robbers, or an untroubling average of around \$1.300 per branch The public, of course, picks up the cost of apprehending, prosecuting and jailing the robbers.

Some of the robbers are rather intriguing, Last years "Yankee Bandi," socalled for the New York Yankees baseball cap he wore during his robberies, invariably broke into a broad smile as he left with his toot. He robbed 55 banks in six months for a total take of \$190.000. Not long after an astonishing six heists on one November day, he apparently retired—or changed hats.

TIME JANUARY 30, 1984

World

EAST-WEST "Some Cautious Melting"

Shultz and Gromyko exchange tough words, then five hours of quiet talk

now was swirling as the American delegation drove up to the tall iron gates of the Soviet embassy in southwestern Stockholm. So when U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko exchanged pleasantries at the start of their long-anticipated meeting last week. the talk quite naturally turned to the weather, "You have to come to the U.S. to find out how cold this winter is." said

Shultz. The Soviet diplomat was quick with a comeback. "I've read all about it," replied Gromyko, Some of our Muscovites can say, 'Now the Americans know what frost means.

The weather, of course, had little to do with the chilly climate on the two diplomats' minds. Ever since their stormy shouting match in Madrid last September over the Soviet downing of the Korean Air Lines jet carrying 269 passengers and crew, superpower relations have been glacial. In better diplomatic times, the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which opened in Stockholm last week, would not have attracted such international attention. But other negotiating forums have been vacant since the Soviets, in protest against the deployment of new NATO missiles on the Continent, walked out of the Geneva talks on limiting intermediaterange missiles in Europe and indefinitely postponed discussions aimed at reducing strategic weapons and cutting back on conventional forces. Even though the Stockholm conference had no mandate to discuss nuclear weapons, it offered a new venue, where both sides could at least try to raise the temperature of their relationship.

The week proved to be an anxious one, full of conflicting signals. It began as President Reagan issued a deliberately conciliatory message that raised hopes of a diplomatic thaw. But Western spirits sank when Gromyko responded in Stockholm with an attack against U.S. policy that, in the circumstances, seemed excessively vitriolic. The prospects improved again when a meeting between Shultz and Gromyko that had been scheduled to last three hours continued well past the allotted time, and then seemed less encouraging when Shultz returned home to report that they had made "no headway" arms control. Sorting through the confusing mix of mild words and harsh retorts. diplomats at the 35-nation conference were left wondering what the next move could be in the fumbling superpower twostep. "We are obviously in a delicate phase," said a Shultz aide. "One doesn't want to put a foot wrong here."

Reagan took the initiative in an ad-



"We are ready for negotiations whenever the Soviet Union is prepared."

> dress on U.S.-Soviet relations that he | hoped would ease tensions as the diplomats gathered in Stockholm. He solemnly told a group of Congressmen and officials in the East Room of the White House that he believed the U.S. was now strong enough in military and economic terms to seek improved ties with Moscow. "Our working relationship with the Soviet Union is not what it must be," said the President, "We must and will engage the Soviets in a dialogue as serious and constructive as possible." But he dismissed criticism that his tough talk had damaged

superpower relations. Said Reagan: "We don't refuse to talk when the Soviets call us imperialist aggressors and worse or because they cling to the fantasy of a Communist triumph over democracy.

The President's speech was noticeably free of the epithets that have so rankled the Politburo in the past, such as his characterization of the Soviet Union as "the focus of evil in the modern world." Instead, the President evoked the home-

spun image of Ivan and Anva and Jim and Sally, ordinary Russians and Americans who might one day meet in a waiting room or share a shelter from the storm and come to talk about their children. their hobbies and their hopes for the future. "Their common interests cross all borders," said the President, in calling on the Kremlin to help work for peace. He promised the Soviets that the U.S. was prepared to negotiate armscontrol agreements "in good faith." noting that "whenever the Soviet Union is ready to do likewise we'll meet them halfway."

The presidential message may have reflected a change in Reagan's thinking and the growing feeling among foreign policy advisers that a conciliatory tone should accompany his hard-line approach toward the Soviet Union. But there were only limited indications that Moscow was ready to pick up where superpower relations left off in the aftermath of the Korean Air Lines crisis. There were some suspicions in Washington that domestic politics was motivating Reagan's change of heart, and Moscow was totally unwilling to give the President the benefit of the doubt. On the eve of the conference. Shultz's assess-

ment of the prospects for his upcoming meeting with Gromyko was guarded. Said he: "I don't want to put any spin on it at all-either optimism or pessimism." French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson was pessimistic as he came away from a private session with his Soviet counterpart. Said Cheysson, speaking of the Shultz-Gromyko meeting: "I would be very surprised if it wound up with a phrase like 'Dear friend, let's get together next week on this.

Shultz was the first of the two men to stand on the podium in the ultramodern assembly hall. While Gromyko looked on impassively, the U.S. Secretary of State repeated Reagan's call for the superpowers to get down to business. It was time, said Shultz, to seek "a relationship not marked by the abrupt shifts, exaggerated expectations and dashed hopes of the last decade." He held open the door to renewed arms talks, noting that "we are ready for negotiations whenever the Soviet Union is prepared." Shultz offered no new proposal for reviving the ruptured Geneva talks. Instead, following up a similar offer by the Warsaw Pact, he announced that the U.S. was planning to propose a treaty on "the complete and verifiable elimination of chemical weapons"-but on a global basis. In what struck the Soviets and many Europeans as a sour note. Shultz expressed repugnance at the postwar division of Europe, labeling it an "artificial barrier" that had "cruelly divided this continent-and indeed, heartlessly divided one of its great nations."

That American rebuke proved to be

mid compared with the tonguelashing that Growko delivered during his almost hourlong harangue the next day. Expression scorn, anger and suspicion, the veteran. Soviet diplomat railed against Washington's "mannaeal plans," "criminal and dishoness method" and "pathological obsession" with building new armaments. He dismissed the Reagan foolden an ome "L is dedd that are needed, not verbal exercises," said Gromvko.

West European diplomats were stunned by Gromyko's rhetoric. Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans described the tone of the Soviet speech as "vulgar." Said West German Forcign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "We have little regard for a policy of confrontation or the language of confrontation." The U.S. delegation seemed equally disappointed as it left for the meeting with Gromyko later in the day. There were doubts that the talks, which were scheduled to begin at 3 p.m., would last the allotted three hours. Promptly at 6, the official Soviet news agency. TASS. printed a dispatch saying that Gromyko had "resolutely denounced" U.S. policy. Western re-

porters took that as a signal that the talks were over, but then a U.S. diplomat appeared with the surprising news that "the meeting is still going on." Shultz was finally seen leaving the Soviet embassy five hours and ten minutes after his arrival.

Gromyko's words were decidedly less virulent in private than in public. In brisk, five- to ten-minute exchanges, Shultz and Gromyko discussed arms control, Central America, the Middle East, Afghanistan, human rights, the Stockholm conference and safeguards for airliners on international flights. Neither side was reticent in was reticent in stating its grievances, but when Gromyko referred to the Iranians as "your good friends," the Americans laughed. Shultz, said an aide, had recognized that the Gromyko speech was for public consumption. but in the private meeting, "nobedy was smiled and shook hands both hefore and after the meeting and, said a member of the U.S. delegation. "there were more smiles after."

Still, as Shulz told reporters later, there had been 'no movement. no change in position'' on the contentious issue of intermediate-range missiles in Europe. Pressed as to whether the two diplomats had settled anything, Shulz protested. 'It wasn't that kind of meeting.' He described the atmosphere as "straightforward, businesslike,'' and said the talks de been 'worthwhile' and 'necessary.'

The Soviets continued to insist that they will not return to the table in Geneva until the new Pershing II and cruise missiles that were installed in West Germa-



"It is deeds that are needed, not verbal exercises."

ny. Britini and Italy last year at ermoved To underscore Soviet concern about the new weapons, the official newspaper of the Soviet Defense Ministry. *Krausnya Zwetala*, reported last west hitalhort-range SS-21, SS-22 and SS-23 misnistes—had atready been installed in East hort-range AS-21, SS-22 and SS-23 misnistes—had atready been installed in East (from the newspaper coholine with two missions). The transformation of the soviet and uniter mediater-range missiles. Groabout intermediater-range missiles. Gromyko did suggest that the Soviets would return, probably in mid-March, to the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe, which the Soviets "suspended" just before Christmas.

It is not likely, given the depth of Soviet feelings toward Reagan, that Moscow will do more in the immediate future than keep communication lines open to the West. Another factor troubling the future of bilateral progress is the uncertain health of Soviet Leader Yuri Andropov. who has not been seen in public since last August. But there were no suggestions in Gromyko's behavior in Stockholm that he felt constrained by any leadership vacuum in the Kremlin. Said a U.S. diplomat: 'He certainly conveyed no sense of paralvsis" In Moscow, Viktor Afanasyev, editor in chief of Pravda, dropped hints in an interview that Andropov might reappear as early as next week. He also confirmed rumors that the Soviet leader was suffering from a kidney ailment, aggravated by influenza. In any case, the elder Andro-

pov was not so critically ill that his son Igor, a diplomat who has participated in a number of recent East-West conferences, could not join the Soviet diplomatic team in the Swedish capital.

In the meantime, little can be expected soon from the Stockholm conference, which will begin negotiations this week aimed at reducing the risk of conventional war in Europe. The NATO delegations want an agreement improving the present system of advance warning of military maneuvers and increasing exchanges of military observers and information. But the Warsaw Pact appeared to have a different agenda. At last week's opening ceremonies. speaker after speaker from the East bloc echoed Moscow's criticism of the NATO missile deployment. They also called on the U.S. to announce that it would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, a pledge the West has always avoided because nuclear weapons are its most effective security guarantee in the face of the Soviet bloc's superiority in conventional weapons in Europe.

The host of the conference, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, said that he did not expect a "rapid thaw" in the superpower

chill buh ecould at least foresee "some cautius meiting." The Shultz and Gromyko meeting in Stockholm seemed too the total back to a warmer U.S. Soviet entative to serve as a reliable marker on the total back to a warmer U.S. Soviet winds in the broad concrete plaza outside the conference halt to hold up placards spelling out a message for the visning foreign digitatives: THE works to St WATING. - By Joint Asian. Fourier By Takwith Shutz.

World

MIDDLE EAST

Murder in the University

Terrorists increase pressure on the U.S. to leave Lebanon

In addy a government in the Arab world does not contain at least one Cabinet minister who is a graduate of the 117year-old American University of Beirut. Despite nearly a decade of civil war and continuing turnoli. It the university has resolved the second civil and the second second an angished civil, Last week it also became a monument to the senseless terror that bests all Lebanon. Its president, Malcolm Kerr, 52, whose life had bean devoted to Arab culture and education, was and telefand by two unknown gunnen, was and territon.

Shortly afferward, an anonymous caller telephone the French news agency Agence France-Press and suid that the assessmittion of Kerr had been carried the same Iranian-backed Shirite Muslim group that is believed to have bombed the U.S. and French military headquarters in Boriut last Cocher as well as the Israeli headquarters in Tyre. The caller said that Kerr was "the victim of the American Kerr was "the victim of the American that "nat a single American or Frenchman will remain on this soli."

The caller also said that the Islamic Jinah dab deen responsible for the Beirut kidnaping of the Saudi consul general. Hussein Farrash, day carlier, Farrash, 45, had been abducted by seven gummen who intercepted his limustine as he was driving to work. According to the anonymoust message, the diplomat would be tried according to Islamic law, executed, and his body would be "throwo out."

The artack against a Sundi addet a new and troubing element to the violent Lebanese equation. The Syrians. who ocoury the acra of the Bekaa Valley that serves as a base for the pro-Iranian finatics. have allowed the externsits fairly free rein. But Saudi Arabia bankrolls Syria to diplomate have frequently acred as meditors in migra-Arabia bank. In lead restant and the server share the server had been exempt from the terror that has made victims of both Arabia and non-Arab in Bernit. As the week passed, there was no further word on Fararabia faite.

In targeting Kerr for assassination, the killers choice a man who had spent much of his life promoting trust, and friendship between the West and the son of an American biochemistry professor at the university. He studded there and at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studde Later he langht political science for 20 years at the But Kerr always dreamed of returning to



Kerr on the Beirut campus last November



The kidnaping added a new element.

Lebanon to lead the institution that had been somuch a part of his heritage, and in late 1982 he got his wish when he was anmed president of the American University. His immediate predecessor, Acting President David Dodge, had been kidnaped by Muslim extremists in July; with he evident backing of both Syria and Iran. Dodge was finally released in July 1983, thanks largely to efforts by Syrian President Hafez Assad's brother Rifnat. Head of the Syrian internal security forces:

At first, the university provided Kerr with a bodyguand But, arguing that such protection was not appropriate, Kerr dispensed with it. One morning last week the two gummen entered the administration building unchallenged, made their way to the third floor and waited At 9.10 a.m., as Kerr stepped out of the elevator and began to walk toward his office, one of the terroriss shot him twice in the head with a gun fitted with a silencer. The gunmen escaped, and at a nearby hospital. Kerr was pronounced dead.

News of the assassination spread quickly. Lebanon's President, Amin Gemayel, expressed his condolences to U.S. Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew, Former Prime Minister Saeh Salam, a leader in the effort to unite the country's warring factions, called the murder "a flagrant disregard for values and an illustration of how seriously security has deteriorated " Particularly vulnerable at the moment are individual Americans and Frenchmen, partly because the terrorists are finding it increasingly difficult to penetrate the military bases and thus are turning their guns on relatively unprotected civilian targets. Two weeks ago gunmen on a motorbike shot and slightly wounded the wife of a French diplomat in broad daylight. As usual, the terrorists escaped.

In at least one important respect, the motives of the pro-Iranian terrorists coincide precisely with those of Syrian President Assad: both want to press the Multi-National Force to leave Lebanon. When Donald Rumsfeld, President Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East, met with Assad in Damascus two weeks ago, the Syrian leader repeated his demands that the U.S. Marines as well as other MNF troops leave Beirut, Israeli forces withdraw from southern Lebanon, and the Lebanese-Israeli agreement of last May 17 be set aside. U.S. diplomats believe Assad is deliberately stalling, in the hope that the pressure on Reagan to remove the Marines from Lebanon will intensify as the U.S. election campaign heats up

E ariter this month the various Leba ness factions seemed ready to accept a formal case-fire. This would have permitted the Lehanes government, whose present power does not even extend by control to a wider area. Such a development could eventually lead to a withfrawal of the Manness and the other peacekeeping forces. At the last moment, however, *Durue Leader* Wald Jumblatt, maked new-bigetions and effectively scutted the treative generement.

Syria was generally bilande for the fulure. The stauks, who were also involved in the negotiations, would welbut are a present presexupted with problems of their own. Last week they signed a \$1. billion contract with the French to buy an air-defense system that will in-Coursie surface-oral mission. The Saudra, who have usually purchased Ameriaon weapons in the pasts but are fearful that in to affect them directly.

The failure of efforts to break the Lebanese political impasse has produced a disappointment in Beirut that is almost palpable. Says former Prime Minister Salam: "People had so much hope in the Americans when they first came. Now they are disillusioned." As sporadic fighting broke out again, there were fears that the informal cease-fire that has generally prevailed since Sept. 26 was breaking down. Druze gunners again shelled Christian-dominated East Beirut and the Marine positions around Beirut International Airport. This in turn provoked a response from the 5-in, guns of the battleship New Jersey and the destroyer Tatinall. Then, following reports that the Iranian-trained terrorists were preparing for kamikaze missions against American naval vessels off Lebanon, the U.S. placed its forces there on alert and rushed Stinger antiaircraft missiles to the area.

In southern Lebanon. Israelis mourned the death of their best Lebanese friend, Major Saad Haddad. 45. who died of cancer two weeks ago after a long illness, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and other senior officials took time off from their other duties to fly by helicopter to the Lebanese village of Marjayoun to

King's resolve, the Reagan Administration has renewed efforts to ask Congress to authorize \$220 million for training and equipping an estimated 8,000-man Jordanian force that could be used as a deterrent in the event of a crisis in the Persian Gulf.

The King also called for a reconciliation between Egypt and the other Arab states. and last week there were signs that this process was well under way. At the meeting of the fourth Islamic Conference Organization in Casablanca, attended by delegates from 42 countries, including 25 heads of state, the liveliest issue was not even on the formal agenda: the readmission of Egypt, whose membership was suspended after the late Anwar Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979

The Egyptian case was pressed by a number of black African and Asian nations. including Guinea. Senegal. Malaysia and Pakistan, and they reportedly gained the support of 32 delegations. Libya, Syria and South Yemen boycotted the closing session. at which the invitation to Egypt was announced, but most delegates seemed delighted Said a Pakistani: "Sadat is dead, and



Lebanese soldiers guard the gates of the American University following the assassination An island of tranquillity became a monument to the senseless terror that besets Lebanon

attend the funeral of the man who had | there's a new man in power who would desbeen their close ally and in effect their proconsul in southern Lebanon

Meanwhile, King Hussein of Jordan reconvened his parliament after a recess of ten years and renewed his invitation to Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat to join with him in forming a united front for future negotiations with Israel over the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. A closer link between Hussein and Arafat, who only last month reconciled his differences with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, would further isolate Syria, whose only real friends in the Arab world are Libya and South Yemen. Syrian agents, in an apparent effort to unnerve Hussein, are thought to have been behind the shooting of several Jordanian diplomats in Europe and Asia over the past year. In spite of this, Hussein seems determined to press ahead. To strengthen the perately like to re-establish Egypt's position within the Islamic community." In the meantime. Egyptian officials declared that they hoped to meet with Jordan and the P.L.O. to seek a new approach for negotiating the return of the occupied territories.

Among Egypt's strongest supporters at Casablanca was Yasser Arafat, who demonstrated that, despite the adversities he has suffered during the past year. he has retained the backing of most Islamic states. Lebanon was scarcely mentioned, if only because delegates found it difficult to say anything constructive. Saudi Arabia's King Fahd, in calling again on the Israelis to withdraw from Lebanon, claimed to be "optimistic" about the ability of the Lebanese "to achieve national unity," but he said it without particu--- By William E. Smith lar conviction Reported by John Borrell/Beirut and Thomas A. Sancton/Casablanca

Hard Times

Israel's inflation nears 200%

"Y ou see this carton of cigarettes?" asked an unemployed young man in the southern Israeli town of Mizpe Ramon. "I paid for it this time, but next time I may have to steal it." That scene, shown on Israeli television last week, is typical of the tales of economic woe that have become standard fare A few days earlier the government announced that prices had risen 11.6% in December alone, bringing the inflation rate for 1983 to a record 190.714. That prompted Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad to impose new rules barring Israelis from holding or taking out of the country more than \$2.000 a year in foreign currency. He announced that Israeli workers would get a cost-of-living increase of only 9.1% next month, not enough to keep up with inflation

As a result of the austerity policies imposed after Yitzhak Shamir succeeded Menachem Begin as Prime Minister

last October. Israel's unemployment is also an increasing concern. Cohen-Orgad acknowledges that the figure may triple, to 30,000 (2.5%), this year. There has already been widespread labor unrest Defense ministry employees have been on a work slowdown for two months. Last week the nation's railroad workers went out on strike, while Shamin postal employees caused



major disruptions in mail service and all 60.000 of the country's civil servants went on strike for three hours.

To quell the protests, the finance ministry has worked out an agreement with the Histadrut, the labor federation responsible for 90% of Israel's public servants and 700,000 private-sector employees. Every worker will get an additional \$43 a month to help compensate for inflation, at least until April 1, when the present set of wage agreements expires.

Shamir's Likud coalition has come under fire from within its own ranks as a result of its economic policies. Tami. a three-member coalition partner, has threatened to bolt the government if budget cuts drastically affect the poor. Another Likud member successfully introduced a motion in the Knesset demanding a debate on whether new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip should be frozen because they are too costly.

Responding to the worsening economy, the opposition Labor alignment presented a no-confidence motion, which is due to be voted on in the Knesset this week. Although Shamir's coalition is expected to survive (it holds 64 seats vs. 56 for Labor), a further deterioration could provoke defections, forcing Shamir to dissolve parliament. A poll published this month showed that if elections were held now, the Likud would trail Labor, 41 seats to 57. .

World

The Making of a President

An election hinges on death squads, land reform and gringos

is way cleared by eight bodyguards. Salvadoran Constitutional Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson struck an aggressive pose last week as he approached a specially erected platform in the remote Salvadoran farming cooperative of Parra Lempa. D'Aubuisson wore white and a .38-cal, revolver, an emblem by which he is familiarly known. "Some people write that we are barbarians and bloody," he shouted to an audience of some 400 campesinos. "But today, you have seen that we stand for land reform. In return for your vote, we Nationalist Republicans promise to work for the people." The crowd cheered, and for good reasons. Just after his speech. D'Aubuisson presented the agricultural workers with formal title to the lands they had farmed for years as propertyless tenants.

D'Aubuisson's populist rhetoric contrasted sharply with his reputation as a right-wing extremist. The boyish-looking onetime Salvadoran police major, now 40. has consistently tried to delay implementation of U.S.-sponsored efforts at land reform in El Salvador. Last November. D'Aubuisson was refused an entry visa to the U.S., a rebuff linked to his alleged ties to the country's nefarious right-wing death squads. For the present, however, he wishes to appear a man of the people, and is running hard in a long-awaited presidential-election campaign that is crucial both to his country's future and to the foreign policy aims of the Reagan Administration.

With only two months remaining until the March 25 elections, campaign fever is high in El Salvador, despite the continuing violence of the government's war against some 10,000 members of the



Jingoism and a military solution.

Marxist-led Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (F.M.L.N.). Along the highway leading out of the capital of San Salvador, trees are beribboned with the red-white-and-blue emblems of D'Aubuisson's Nationalist Republican Alliance, known by its Spanish acronym of ARENA. Sidewalk intersections are spraypainted with the green fish symbol of ARENA's chief rival in the eight-party presidential race, the centrist Christian Democrats led by José Napoleón Duarte. On El Salvador's four television channels, political advertisements exhort voters to choose the man among the many who can save the country.

he differences between the two chief rivals for the presidency are pronounced and profound. At his own campaign rallies around the country, the Christian Democrats' Duarte stresses conciliation and optimism as the answer to El Salvador's bloody woes. If elected, Duarte promises to speed up the progress of Salvadoran land reform and begin negotiations that would bring members of the F.M.L.N. insurgency within the legitimate political process. Duarte has also vowed to rid El Salvador of human rights violations, which are among the worst in the hemisphere. He proposes to eliminate the country's 2,500-member Treasury Police, the ill-trained and thuggish force that is believed to serve as a major reservoir of talent for the murderous death squads. who have added thousands to the estimated toll of 40,000 Salvadoran civilians killed since 1979

D'Aubuisson's solution to his nation's difficulties is strategistforward a military victory over the guerrillas. He has drawn that, if elected, he will deport all "feltiss", a term that some rightists interpret as incorporating anyone who favors dialogue with the imargements. D'Aubuisson talks of business in the war-battered Salvadorm economy: and wiss approval from theusands of small businessmen and farmers who have suffered grievously from the guerrilla strategy of attacking the country's economic infrastructure.

D'Aubuisson has played skillfully on both sides of the land-reform issue. Despite his grandstanding act of handing over land titles at Parra Lempa, D'Aubuisson and ARENA fought hard to limit the size of Salvadoran holdings that could be expropriated under the agrarian reform for peasant use.

Recently. D'Aubuisson used an old weapon from his campaign arsenal: anti-Americanism. At rallies. D'Aubuisson has increasingly stressed the theme of the Reagan Administration's meddling in Salvadoran affairs. Appealing to a welldeveloped Salvadoran sense of nationalism. D'Aubuisson declares of nationalism. D'Aubuisson declares that "we prefer tortillas and beans and to eat them with dignity than gringo bread and to eat it with pain in our souls." ARENA bumper stickers issue a challenge: SURRENDER YOUR COUNTRY. NOT OURS.

D'Aubuisson's jingosma nad xenophoibahave risen in proportion to Reagan Administration efforts to bring an end to the death squads. In the past two months. Administration officials, including Yuee Presdient George Bubb chain the violence perpensated by the left. That view received adgan's higheritans. Kininger commission on Central America, which suggested "conditioning" vastly increased amounts of U.S. aid to El Salvador on the basis of an improved human rights performance.

In Washington, the aid vs. human rights debate over El Salvador will likely increase in stridency this week, as Congressmen return from recess to Capitol Hill. Anticipating the controversy, the Administration last week released a Salvadoran human rights assessment asserting, as the Administration has done in the past, that "important progress has been made." Among other things, the report claims a drop in the rate of violent Salvadoran civilian deaths during the latter half of 1983, to 104 monthly, but offers a blunt admission that there has been a 'significant increase" in casualties attributable to death squads. The Administration's report will undoubtedly fuel vociferous partisan criticism as the U.S. presidential election nears. El Salvador's interminable bloodshed, in fact, now could have an impact on the electoral future of two countries. -By George Russell. Reported by David DeVoss/San Salvador and ana McGeany /Washington



Optimism, compromise and a police purge.



During talks in Pretoria, South Africans are, for once, on the left, Mozambicans on the right

MOZAMBIQUE Sweet Talk

Machel looks west-and south

W e are Marxists, but not in the re-ligious sense of the word." an adviser to Mozambique's President conceded last year. That may be putting it mildly. Last October, during a fencemending 18-day tour of Western Europe. President Samora Machel, 50, was presented with a medal from Queen Elizabeth, and persuaded the British government to waive his country's payment of a \$30 million debt. In Portugal, Mozambique's longtime colonial master and Machel's bitter foe during a ten-year struggle for independence, the former guerrilla commander declared that the two countries were bound "in a friendship of steel." Upon returning home, he gave his blessing to the accreditation of an American ambassador less than three years after expelling four U.S. diplomats on charges of spying. And last week in their capital city of Maputo, which has been blasted three times by South African raids. Mozambique officials began formal talks with their counterparts from South Africa

The series of meetings between the sworn archenemies may have been prompted more by economic necessity than ideological choice. With a per capita gross national product of \$140 (compared with around \$14,000 in the U.S.). Mozambique remains one of the world's poorest nations. Ongoing problems of mismanagement, corruption, lack of skilled workers and faulty agricultural planning have been compounded by the worst drought in 50 years. Over the past six months as many as 100,000 have died of starvation: 4 million of the country's 12.5 million people still do not have enough to eat. When food aid is sent from abroad, it is frequently blocked by the 10,000-member Mozambique National Resistance (M.N.R.) movement. The insurgents. reportedly backed by South Africa, have been devastating towns and terrifying citizens in nearly all of Mozambique's ten provinces for five years.

Machel, who became last year the first African President to visit Soviet Leader Yuri Andropov, has not received a great deal of assistance lately from Moscow, which is still furious with him for his peace-seeking European safari. The Soviet Union did. to be sure, give Mozambique \$450 million in military and economic aid between 1978 and 1982. In return, however, it appropriated the country's lucrative fishing industry, along with the income it produced

That leaves South A frica as the source not only of Mozambique's political unease but also of its potential economic stability. Mozambique still receives most of its consumer goods and industrial supplies from its hated neighbor to the south. Though the number of Mozambicans working in South Africa's mines has fallen by 65% since 1975, some 50,000 are still laboring there, bringing in \$70 million every year. In addition, more than half of the goods passing through the port of Maputo come from the white-ruled republic. Another way for Mozambique to rake in South African rands would be by reopening its doors to tourism, a subject discussed in Pretoria and Maputo last week. Since Mozambique won independence in 1975. wealthy South Africans have been denied access to its big-game hunting, deep-sea fishing and summer houses overlooking the sea

Economic issues were, however, overshadowed by matters of security during last week's talks. At the close, a joint statement on "good neighborly relations" suggested that Mozambique would prevent the black nationalist African National Congress from attacking South Africa from within its borders, while South Africa would not aid and abet the M.N.R. But good intentions alone may not be enough to dispel old enmities. That the two ideologically opposed neighbors have met at all is notable in itself." editorialized South Africa's largest daily newspaper, the Johannesburg Star "Miracles take a little longer."

WEST GERMANY Shaky Case

Was it mistaken identity?

F rom the moment West German De-fense Minister Manfred Wörner announced earlier this month that he had fired Four-Star General and Deputy Commander of NATO Günter Kiessling on charges of homosexuality, the issue has been troubling. Last week the case against the general was weakened considerably. What had begun as a titillating scandal was turning into a major political embarrassment for the government of Chancelfor Helmut Kohl

Wörner had reported that eyewitness accounts obtained in a special investigation by German army intelligence agents proved that Kiessling, a bachelor, had long frequented gay bars in Cologne. Under German law, however, homosexuality is not sufficient cause for dismissing officers. Wörner justified his action by arguing that Kiessling had denied his homosexual tendencies: if Kiessling was homosexual and sought to conceal the fact, he would be liable to blackmail

According to Kiessling, Wörner's charges were nonsense: he was not a homosexual and never had been. The general's statement gained credence when Cologne police announced that they had located a soldier bearing a resemblance to Kiessling who had often been seen at the bars in question, raising the possibility

that the general was a victim of mistaken identity. Then came the suggestion that he might even have been framed. According to Cologne's newspaper Express, a gay-bar patron swore that he had been offered \$7.000 by army agents to testify that he had had sexual relations with Kiessling. The assertion was immediately de- Kiessling nied by the West German military



Called before the Bundestag's Defense Committee to explain, Wörner admitted his decision to retire Kiessling had been influenced by a second factor: concern over "personal differences" between the German general and NATO's supreme commander, U.S. General Bernard Rogers. Angered. Bonn's legislators launched an extensive nonpartisan investigation.

For Kohl, the problem comes at an awkward moment. In December, Economics Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff was charged with engineering a huge tax break for the Flick industrial conglomerate in return for contributions to his Free Democrat Party. Kohl promised that Lambsdorff would resign if the case goes to trial. Even if Wörner can prove his allegations, he too faces mounting pressure to resign. The loss of either minister would bring a shake-up in Kohl's moderateright coalition government.

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Looking Ahead

China drops hints about 1997

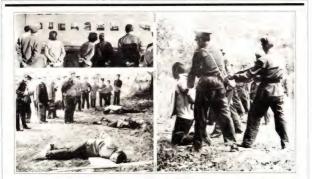
S even times since September 1982. negotiators from China and Britain have gathered in Peking to discuss what will happen to Hong Kong after 1997. when the British lease on 90% of the territory expires. Seven times they have emerged with vague statements that their discussions proved "useful and constructive." But with the eighth round of talks due to begin this week in Peking. Chinese officials mysteriously became quite forthcoming. In San Francisco last week, Premier Zhao Ziyang declared that "Hong Kong will remain unchanged for at least 50 years after 1997. In an interview in the authoritative Peking weekly magazine Outlook (circ. 300.000), a Chinese spokesman on Hong Kong. Ji Pengfei. outlined a remarkably specific blueprint for absorbing that tiny outpost of capital-

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ism into the vast citadel of Communitor. The giss of 15 proposal is that under Article 31. introduced into the Christe constitution 13 months ago, the British crown colony would become a "special diministrative cone". As such, Hong Kong would remain a free port and return is convertible dollar. The economic interests of Britania and other countries would so js. It. geaarneed by law. In addition, a spil. the gaarneed by law. In addition, exercise independent judicial power and control is own system of passports and visas. All the new top-officials would be hong Kong residents of Christes ancestry.

Beneath its surface, Jr's statement dilivered pointed messages to a variety of listeners. It told Prime Minister Margaret Datacher, who seems prepared to concede the sovereignty issue but hopes to see British officials from and the source of the British officials (Margaret and State British officials and a source of the Hong Kong act and also the applied to Taiwan, and Taiwan may receive even more favorable terms." Zhao made apparent China's yearning to temp! Taiwan back into the administrative fold. In addition, the public optimism was doubtless designed to reasoure Hong Kong's notoriously jumpy financial markets. When negotiations were foundering list year. Ihe Hang Beng stock market index dipped point last week's comments: the market index sared above 1000 for the first time since August.

Yet the issue is by no mean resolved, leven if braina excepts a proposal similar to J's outline, how will a smooth transition be worked out? Will the Chinese has liberal in practice as they are on paper? How have all c, an a country famous for its recent history of resolutions, revisions, upheavids and counter revolutions guarantee the stability of the independent method Hong Kong Chinese who has moved his residence to the US: "If the Chinese could guarantee: 50 years without change in Hong Kong, thouse who has noved his residence to the US: "If the Chinese could masts. They would be expiralists."



Effective Warnings

The 18,000 spectators in Peking's Capital Stadium hissed and strained their necks as officials tried about a dozen prisoners accused of murder, rape and thievery, then summarily condemned them to death. Less than an hour later, in a field on the city's outskirts, a police firing squad swiftly carried out the sentences.

Last week's mass trial and its grisly aftermath were only the latest in a nationwide crackdown on crime that has resulted in 100.000 arrests and some 5.000 executions since August. The campaign reflects fears that China's traditionally placid society is threatened by an outbreak of violence, signaled by an upsurge in muggings and sexual assaults.

Most Chinese seem to velcome the governmen's harsh response "We mat execute one as a warring to a hundred." editorialized one Canton newspaper, the Yancheng *Evening* News To makes our there is no maindenstanding about its intentions, the government has been posting photos of esecutoms, like the ones above, throughout the country. The during September and October dropped by 42% compared with the same period in 1982.

THE KIND OF CAR ENGINEERS BUILD WHEN THEY DON'T HAVE TO ANSWER TO ACCOUNTANTS.



The president of the Volvo Car Corporation is an engineer, not an accountant.

So when it came to designing a totally new Volvo, his consuming interest lay in designing a great car, not a cheap car.

The result is the Volvo 760 GLE.

Our accountants screamed because the interior of this new car came in over budget. Fortunately, our engineers screamed louder.

Result: orthopedicallydesigned front bucket seats that adjust in 16 different directions. And a climate control system so advanced it can change the interior air five times a minute.

A Volvo engineer named Larsson came up with an entirely new design for a rear suspension. Our accountants chimed it was too expensive. (An B^w scale model alone cost \$60,000.) But it also allowed for an incredible degree of quietness and comfort. So our engineers got their suspension.

In designing a new car, most companies go directly from clay models to sheet metal to save money. Volvo engineers insisted on a costly, but important intermediate step: a full-scale wooden model. This, they felt, would permit superior fit and finish in the final production car. Again, our accountants groaned. But our engineers got their way.

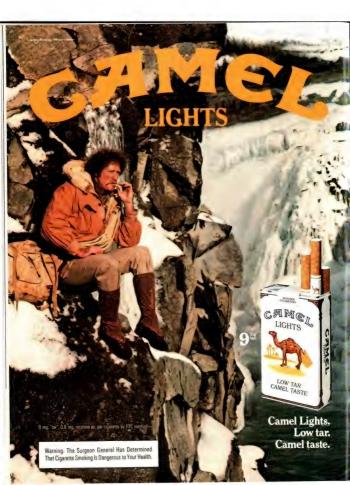
You'll find examples like this throughout the 760 GLE. Instead of a car that smacks of corner-cutting, you'll discover a car that's beautifully made.

Naturally the Volvo 760 GLE costs a little more.

But down the road, you'll be thankful it was designed by people who have mastered the art of building cars.

Instead of pinching pennies.

THE VOLVO 760 GLE The closest thing yet to a perfect car.



Big Stink

Scandal over "sniffer planes"

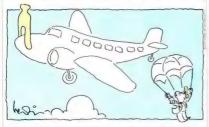
At issue are two electronic devices. Acode-named Delta and Omega When mounted in an airplane, they were supposed to be able to detect undersea oil deposits from altitudes as high as 21.000 Flf-Aquitaine. France's state-owned petroleum company, spent more than \$150 million for research and development on the equipment in the 1970s. Yet no oil was ever found. In fact, there is no evidence that the expensive devices worked at all. A Belgian count who sold them to Elf has vanished, along with the money. As a result, the leftist government of President François Mitterrand is accusing its center-right predecessor of lying and incompetence, an investigation has been launched, and the French public

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government decided that it might be useful for detecting submarines. Villegas signed the first of a number of contracts with Elf-Aquitaine, and payments were made into secret Swiss bank accounts.

The deal came unraveled in 1978, when an independent expert hired by Eff declared that. Defin and Omega were useless. Former Premier Barre approved a secret investigation, and a report was issued. Chief Giovernment Accountant Bernard Beck discreetly shredded his three copies of the report when he reitred in 1982, only Gissard and Barre are known to have kept copies, which they took with them into private life.

Barre finally made a copy available to the government (Giscard still has not) At a Jan. 2 news conference. Premier Pierre Mauroy waved the decument before the cameras while he accused the Giscard government of being duped and then trying to engineer a



is savoring the oddest political scandal in years.

The sniffer-planes affair leaped into public attention last month with an article in the satirical weekly Le Canard Enchaine. The Mitterrand government, under fire for its management of the limp French economy, suddenly found itself in a position to lambaste the previous administration, led by Valery Giscard d'Estaing. But even before Mitterrand could capitalize on the disclosure. Giscard went on national television to deny any wrongdoing. He implied that others, notably his Premier. Raymond Barre, were more directly involved. Barre, in response, insisted that the affair had to remain shrouded in secrecy "for defense reasons

The mess evidently began in 1968, when Aldo Bonassoli, a telephone-company electricain in Ventimigia. Italy, convinced Count Alain de Villegas, a wealthy private investor, that the could develop a technique for discovering oil from the air A French intelligence agent learned of the project, and the Giscadr cover-up. Since then, the war of words has escalated. In another TV broadside. Giscard declaimed: "François Mitterrand is no longer qualified to represent the country. The present government came to power through lies. It is trying to maintain itself by lies." Disdaining a reply. Mitterrand has preferred, as the pro-government daily Le Monde put it. 'to preserve his virginity in this affair while encouraging the government to move to the front with it." Meanwhile. Count de Villegas's château outside Brussels was burglarized last week, and his files were rifled by what Belgian police describe as "professionals." In Ventimiglia. Italian authorities offered police protection to would-be inventor Bonassoli after noticing unknown people around his house. Bonassoli, who left Villegas's employ in 1979 after a falling-out over money, reported that he is still perfecting the oil-detection device. But, says he, "I won't work with the French again. They mix tics does not interest me.

2, 12, 29...

Now who's won the lottery?

t was the most furious gold rush since the Gay Nineties. Canadians queued up in the bitter cold, frequently for hours at a time, uncharacteristically quarreling with one another, while waiting impatiently to buy tickets Americans thronged across the border to get in on the game as well. After six weeks of mounting suspense and a burgeoning jackpot. lottery-ticket sales reached \$115 million But more than a week after the top-prize combination of six numbers was announced, the winner of an \$11 million Canadian lottery had still not stepped forward. Norman Morris. president of the Ontario Lottery Corp., said that he felt "very much like the person who threw a party and the guest of honor didn't come." Some party. Some honor.

To be sure, as Morris added, the ticket holder was "facing a fairly transmitic experience." One consideration was personal safety, a fact of kindners or extortionists. Another was the inevitable onslaught of promoters, ranks and schemers, all pledging their devotion to the winner's good fortune. Lottery officials cautioned the winner not to reveal the fact until the ticket had been presented to them.

The lottery payoff was the largest for a single ticker yet recorded in the U.S. or Canada. To play Lotto 6-49, ticket bayers hoses six numbers between 1 and 49. The prize money mounted as each drawing failed to profuse a winning number. The fever touched nearly everyone. Winnings of Lobent, faulting binsoff in a lottery line, he admitted. "This is unbeliesable 11 is against my nature."

Of course, the winner could turn out to be an American, and under certain circumstances a most unlucky one. It is illeall to bring latery tickets into the U.S. so Care were dustered by returning travelers. Most people were given the chance to take the tickets back to Canada, but some of them were destroyed after being seized. Against odds calculated at 1357 million to 1 only one 51 ticket had the winning being being and the setting of the the setting being being the setting of the ticket havting been structed by a Catobian again.

Canadianscarkeep here winningstass free An American would have to puy about half the winnings in U.S. taxes. Like most participans. Marc Laffecher Muntioner and the start of the start of the merger. Through the the start of the start here and the start of the start of the start. John Thorne, 21, an unemployed laborer, and dwore than dream. Thorne took ins collection of 1,100 pennies to the hand, exchanged them for dollar bills and of the ton second-price summer who ago of the ton second-price summer who ago

Here We



Even after four years, it comes back in a sweep. All it takes is one glimpse of a hockey shirt with U.S.A. planted on the front, and suddenly the scene re-erupts in the mind: sticks waved like flags, teammates hugging, a crowd in sweet tears. Odd for the summertime nation that a Winter Olvmpics provided such a memorable moment in sports, so memorable that half of us still swear that we beat the Russians, not the Finns. in the finals. But winter plays tricks with the senses. If we didn't know better, it would appear that those people are actually traveling on their sides in a bobsled at 75 m.p.h., and sailing off a 90meter platform on skis, poised in

the air like flying hinges, and plunging furiously down a mountain, making erratic Zs among poles stuck in the snow.

Within hours of the opening ceremonies, one will be saying such words as "biathlon" again, and talking of Nordic skiing and the luge. A foreign language for Americans, who in a sense return to the Old World on these occasions, or a dream version of that world, to European movie kingdoms where athletes really do come from Liechtenstein. For 1984: Sarajevo. (Henceforth no schoolchild will be stumped on that

Go Again !

World War I question.) Not our neck of the woods exactly. Yet Americans will be neither out of place nor outclassed this year, even if we will not see Eric Heiden wearing his five gold medals like a Titan's necklace, or pumping his arms in the golden suit that appeared welded to his body. Not that his outfit was wilder than anyone else's in this ice capade: goggle-eyed skiers in interplanetary helmets, figure skaters sprayed with sequins spinning in electric blues, the brash colors seeming to make a protest against the frozen season.

Which may account for a basic appeal of these sports: their headlong assault on the weather. Or maybe it is the controlled craziness of the events. On surfaces difficult enough to walk on upright do these people race, leap, whirl, swerve, and then add an extra unnatural measure of defiance by going airborne. Fanatics. Only aspill proves them mortal. So reckless is their attitude that, watching them, one barely believes in the danger. Then someone's momentum is shattered, and a kid lies piled up in his skis like a broken bird. Silence replaces wonder.

Or then again, it may be the silence that holds us in the first place, and not the speed. Skaters whooshing slightly, skis barely cracking the snow's



shell. Take away the crowds from these Olympics, and there would be very little to hear but your own heart racing. Until the closing ceremonies, when the nations who first entered the stadium as if parading before the galaxy, block by formal block, break ranks, and the competitors, chanting raucously off-key, embrace one another in the most disorderly conduct. Pure mush, of course. Clichés down the line. So why are you smiling? — Market Resenter



No Saint-Moritz or Innsbruck, Sarajevo until now was famous only for an assassination that led to World War I. Moreover, many doubted the Yugoslavs could ever organize an Olympics. But after two years of work, with even the army pitching in, the bobsled run is built, the TV cables are installed and the slivovitz is ready to flow. Almost all that remains to be done is to light the torch, signaling the start of the XIV Winter Games.

Rolling Out the Red Carpet

"I believe we are completely ready to host the Games"

he Winter Olympic Games, as anyone who has attended these won drous chilblain festivals will testify. can be counted on for natural and manmade disasters of a kind unmatched since the early days of polar exploration. The arresting uncertainty every four years is not whether a pickup team of U.S. hockey players can confound the world by winning again. or even whether the Olympic committee can exceed its previous stuffiness in the matter of amateurism (it can: two champion skiers. Sweden's Ingemar Stenmark and Liechtenstein's Hanni Wenzel, were ruled out of this Olympics for accepting their loot too directly). No. what is fascinating is to learn whether the harried and exasperated hosts, driven googly by the problems of cosseting tens

On a clear day you can see Sarajevo sparkling, but the town is more often hidden under fog of thousands of athletes and their keepers and watchers in a region where even lichen feel uncomfortable, will drink up all the booze in their country before competition starts.

Heartening news: two weeks before the first puck is to drop in Sarajevo. Yugoslavia (for the first of six hockey games to be played Feb 7, the day before the openbage-scenae scharappe made from plaurs is still holding out Zirjeilt¹⁷ Bottoms uff¹⁷ in Serbo-Croatian). All reserves may be needed, however, before the closing ceremony, Feb 19. The proud and first⁹ Yugoslos have quelied their tendency to any against considerable odds in transforming a mamable Balken backwater into a credible third-rank winter resort. This is a lot higher up in the rankings than any visitor to the grim and snowless 1980 Olympics would place Lake Placid. N.Y. (Firstrank resorts like Saint-Moritz or Sun Valley generally don't want the Olympics these days. Why disrupt an already profitable business?)

Thus the Games will open on schedule in a mood of well-justified gaiety and self-congratulation among the Yugoslavs. Branko Mikulic: the forceful first banger who is president of Yugoslavitä (Oympic Organizing Committee, and a former president of Bonia-Herzgavira, toed the complete success of the Games and then vent off to give his staff a dressing down described as "thunderous" on



some unspecified subject. "I believe we are completely ready to host the Games. insists one official. Still it was true that there were a few minor shortcomings. Sarajevo's new Holiday Inn had been invaded by a tribe of rats with the instincts of Albanian terrorists, and they were giving ground only slowly before the plates of poisoned food left in the halls by the staff. The comfortable apartments reserved for ABC television people on the sixth floor of the new press living quarters were all ready-comfortable is what you get if you pay \$91.5 million of the \$140 million budgeted to put on the Games, which is what ABC did-but the elevator that was supposed to reach them was not working. It was almost impossible to make a transatlantic phone call unless you could explain your needs in Serbo-Croatian. Hotel cashiers prudently refused to accept payment in anything but dinars.

These were trifles. What mattered was that ski lifts rose and racing trails plunged where none had existed two years before, that suitably awesome ski jumps and a bob and luge run had been built, that the ice of an elegant skating complex had already been tested by joyous Sarajevans, and that the city's householders had been persuaded-very firmly, the rumor goes-to vacate their homes for those of the expected 25 000 tourists who could not be accommodated by hotels. And what mattered more than anything else was that at last it had snowed. Half a meter of wet, soggy stuff fell as the year began, just right for foot packing on the racing trails by Yugoslav troops whose fathers and grandfathers had fought



with Marshal Tito's partisans in World War II. Fear of nonvessness haunts the Winter Olympic end's downlift trails at Sarajevo last winter finally peraudod the dohtdin ing equipment toowra 3-km cross-contry loop in an emergency, though non-upflor the Alpine raceourse. But this year's first anowfall looked to good to suffer at the Sarajevo Olympics headquarters that the match of them ran rough of the Alpine raceourse and the shead with the set of them ran rough of the Alpine and the set of them range of the bandquarters that the match of them range of the bandquarters and Ancients.

Vast pine forests overhang the valleys of the Miljacka and Bosna rivers, effectively isolating the ski competition sites from the fog and clatter of the city. The women's Alpine races will be held at Mount Jahorina, for years a minor ski resort running somewhat sleepily 28 km southeast of Sarajevo. About the same distance to the southwest, the 70- and 90meter jumps have been cut into the wooded hillsides below 1,600-meter Mount Igman. The 15-km cross-country course winds through the peaceful beauty of this isolated place, and if good snow cover allows the entire course to be used, its relative steepness of 120 meters should please Bill Koch and the other Americans who excel on downhill stretches. There is no log-cabin rusticity to the quarters built for Nordic skiers; their roost is a spectacular 500-bed hotel daringly cantilevered out from a buttress of Mount Igman.

There was nothing but an old stormbattered weather station at Mount Bjelas-



nica, 10 km beyond the Nordic Even though trails, when the Yugoslavs be- Assassin gan to prepare for the Olympics. Since then they have cut ski gone, a bridge trails out of the forest and built honors him lifts enough for the crowds of tourists they hope will follow the racers. When they discovered that the men's downhill racecourse was 9 meters shy of the 800-meter vertical drop required by international ski-racing rules. they brought Balkan ingenuity to bear by building a restaurant on top of the mountain and installing the starting gate inside the restaurant. Racers can put down their coffee cups and plunge downward at a 51' angle that seems almost vertical, able to see only the first control gate. Welcome to the Bosnian big leagues

As the hours tick away toward Feb. 7. and chores accomplished are crossed off lists, the easygoing mood of the late fall is changing to edgy watchfulness. Metal detectors are appearing in doorways, and if not all of them are connected yet, no one points this out to the unsmiling guards who gravely check their blank video screens, just for practice. Tomasek Juric, the impassive head of security who was once a bodyguard for Tito. flatly guarantees the safety of everyone who will be here. Even at the trials, his operatives were impressive: when someone among the Austrian downhillers set off a cherry bomb in the lobby of their hotel (standard après-ski joshing among downhillers, who are considered by other skiers to be mad). the place filled with police instantly. "Haha-ha." went the Austrians. "Ha-ha-[long pause] ha." No further cherry bombs have been detonated.

On Mount Bjelašnica, some 500 soldiers were packing the racecourses, stolidly enduring the 5°F cold and the eternal winds. It was a time to be philosophical; at

least no one was shooting at them. In Sarajevo, members of a student volunteer brigade goofed and joked as they worked without undue haste at shoveling snow from the center of Kosevo Stadium. Mirjan Jarovijevic. 15, a student at the Yaroslav Cernyi technical school, took the arrival of a visitor as a splendid opportunity to lean on his shovel and sneak a smoke. He said he had been chosen for the work detail because he was so smart that he would not fall behind in school. His volunteer su pervisor, Muharen Corba, 27 was smart too. Good-naturedly he yelled at Mirjan and his friends, who were throwing snowballs and pushing each other in wheelbarrows, to get on with the job. More noise, more snowballs and cheeky adolescent goofing, and then the job of getting ready for visitors resumed

Princip is long



Until recently, the citizens of Sarajevo did not realize that they lacked a bob and luge run-in fact such a marvel did not exist in all of Yugoslavia-but now they have one, on the wooded slopes of 1.629meter Mount Trebević, one of the big, round-shouldered hills that guard Saraievo on three sides. There is also a fine new indoor skating complex, an assertively modern structure with brown, smoked reflecting glass in the entryways and windows and, in the manner of the Pompidou Center in Paris, intentionally exposed ventilation pipes visible outside. Near by, a big, new outdoor speed-skating oval is boldly supported by 400 concrete pillars above a storage cover for snowplows and TV equipment.

Does this quantity of building and preparing mean that if the snow stays intact, all the remaining problems can be solved by an elevator repairman and a courageous exterminator? Of course not. The Sarajevo airport, for instance, is absurd. Fog rolls in almost every day just in time to delay or cancel the plane from Belgrade. A radar landing system was installed recently, but pilots who have managed to reach the city say that it often does not work. Landing-strip lights wink out during the nation's power brownouts. Trains sound like a good idea, but one New York visitor learned to his bafflement that it is not possible while still outside Yugoslavia to book a first-class train seat for a journey within Yugoslavia-Zagreb to Sarajevo, for example.

Transportation problems will not be over for those who actually make it to Sarajevo, because the narrow, bumpy roads out to the distant Alpine and cross-country events were overstrained during last year's trials. Some snow-removal equipment

has been brought from Austria and Switzerland, but a big dump of snow could shatter even the Olympic omnilingual outdoor cursing record set four years ago at Lake Placid, during a work stoppage by bus drivers hired for the Games. Transportation of live spectators is admittedly not a high-priority matter. Any Winter Olympics is and should be a TV spectacle. If you have great luck or clout, you may get a couple of the few non-press and nonbig-shot seats at a hockey game or a figure-skating competition, but there is just no way to watch more than a fragment of a ski race in person. Ski jumping is splendid for eyeball-viewing-all those figures flying through the air-but the races are hopeless. Flat or steep, it does not matter: you pick a good turn and watch the bodies come over the hill or out of the trees. zip. zip. Did vou see Bill Koch or Phil Mahre make his move? Not a chance, unless you were back at the hotel watching on the tube

Thus even for those who attend, much of Sarajevo will be what it is for the rest of the world: a channel number on a TV dial.

Look out of your hotel window and see minarets from the days of Muslim rule, or great silent stands of pine: turn on the box and see minarets, pines, skiers and Jim McKay. For the athletes, this turbulent and beautiful place cannot be allowed to become more than a peripheral strangeness, to be shut out with ease or with difficulty, according to temperament. For the skaters, ice is ice, if it is cooled to the right temperature and the East European judges are not too hostile. For the skiers, the runs are slightly tamer than World Cup racecourses usually are, but this is true for any Olympics; you cannot have the inexperienced skiers who show up to race every four years (Turks, Greeks and Chinese are entered) kill themselves on downhill runs like the frightening Hahnenkamm at Kitzbühel. Winds are notoriously bad here, and after wind





caused the cancellation of the women's giant slalom at last year's trials, big storm fences were ordered for the racecourses. They may or may not help against gales fully capable of holding ski-lift chairs out parallel to the ground, like wash on a line. Otherwise, snow is snow.

Being chosen to hold the Olympics is important to 'upgolava, and not because they are finantical skeaing and sking fina. In the second strain strain strain strain stocking in cafes, and schmooring about soccer are the big winter sports. If is true that Bojan Krazi, the flashy blond who finished fourth at Late Placid in the giant table of the strain strain strain strain to win a gold medal. That would be nice, and the local view, but who does not expect him to win a gold medal. That would be nice, and the local view, but if Krizaj asceeds, he will not get a hoted of his rown, as Austrain Krizaj is an imericab Slovenian.

Such fierce factional currents, swirling among the country's six highly independent republics, two autonomous provinces, three mutually antagonistic religions (Muslim, Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox) and five quarrelsome language groups (Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian and Hungarian), are usually cited as Yugoslavia's incurable weakness. Undeniable, but surviving such a weakness thus far has surely made surviving between East and West seem relatively simple. Since Tito was expelled from the Cominform in 1948 for refusing to bend to Stalin's will. Yugoslavs have boasted that they are answerable to no one. Including themselves, it has often seemed. Contradictions are seen everywhere the Communist Party rules without opposition, but a clever entrepreneur can become a millionaire. The secret police "control practically all social life," as the famed dissident Milovan Diilas recently told TIME, but criticism of a fairly caustic kind is often permitted in the press

hat everyone agrees on is that the economy is troubled, with a debt of \$20 billion to Western banks and an inflation rate that is edging toward 50%, and with good wine sometimes in steadier supply than items like coffee. An austerity program instituted by Prime Minister Milka Planinc, sometimes known as the Margaret Thatcher of Yugoslavia, may help. But a source of dollars is needed, and that, not very mysteriously, is where the Olympic Games come in. ABC's big payment, and such corporate dollops as Coca-Cola's \$3 million (for the right to be called the official 1984 Olympic soft drink), will cover virtually all the costs. which is much more satisfactory than borrowing from the International Monetary Fund. When the last downhiller sags over his poles and the Olympic torch goes out, Sarajevo will have a new, salable and debt-free winter resort to attract foreign tourists, who so far know only the summer beaches around Dubrovnik. Nobody ever said that the Bosnians lacked -By John Skow. shrewdness Reported by John Moody/Sarajevo

When Sarajevo Triggered a War

A the most famous spot in Sarajevo, where the Appel Quay once met the Latin Bridge that crossed the gentle Williacka River. There now stand two footprints embedded in the concrete sidewalk. The bridge today is called the Princip Bridge, for these two footprints mark the place where Gavrilo Princip, a gaunt, sallow student of 19 stood and fired the pistol shots that, as one historian put it, took seven million lives.

Princip's 1914 assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian empire, put Europe on the way to World War I, but Sarajevo has been a crossroads of violence for centuries. The Romans conquered the site in the Ist century A. D. the Slavs invaded in the 6th and the Turks in the 15th.

The Turks, whose legacy is still strong today, built Sarajevo into a flourishing provincial capital. Its very name derives from *saraj*, the Turkish word for palace. The Turks built the cobblestoned medieval marketplace and the surrounding old town now known as the *baškaršija*, and the handsome mosque of Gazi Husref Beg, the finest in the Balkans.

Being an outpost of the Turkish empire meant being of interest to the Hapsburgs' Austro-Hungarian empire, which annexed the whole region known as Bosnia-



 Herzegovina in 1878. The Hapsburgs new subjects resented them, and many put their nationalist hopes on the neighboring kingdom of Serbia.

To them, Archduke Franz Ferdinand appeared a worthy target. Arrogant and hot-tempered, he was an unpopular prince. And on his state visit to the south, accompanied by his wife Sophie, he was highly vulnerable. The route of his procession to the south, accompanied by his wife ly known, his open touring car made him an easy mark. Each of the seven assassian stationed along the route carried a pistol, a bomb and a vial of cynnide to swallow if captured.

At the first bridge, where the first two attackers were supposed to strike, nothing happened. They had been paralyzed by fear. When the third flung his bombat the archduke, it hit the following car, wounding an aide.

The archduke on his last ride

Princip, standing at the next bridge, heard the roar and assumed that the attack had succeeded. He was caught unprepared when the procession drove right past him to the town hall, with the archduke alive and well. Princip wandered off to a coffechouse to console himself, then drifted back to the riverbank.

At the town hall, the archduke complianed angrily. "Mr. Mayor. I came here on a visit, and i get hombs thrown at me, 'he declared. 'It is outrageous'. But the police assured him that they had everything under control. The only added security precaution was to change the return route of the imperial procession. But the bungling police forgio to tell the chauffeur of the lead car about the change, so he made a work from the chardfeur of the lead car about the change, so he made a work of focat the carbiduke's action to a halt, right where Princip happened to be standing. "I got hold of my handgur and aimed it at the car without really looking." Princip later testified. "I vero looked away when I fired."

One fatal shot hit the architake in the jugular vein, the other struck the archiduchessin the absolmene. From the architake's thront at hin stream of blood spurted onto the face of an aide. "For God's sake, what has happened to you?" the architakesescried out to her stricken husband. "Then hes ank down from her saw: "the aide recalled. "His Royal Highness aid. "Sofet! Don't die. Live for my chiden". "The aide graped the slumging architake by the collar and asked if he were in great pain. The dying architake said. "It is nothing." then repeated that six or seven times until the words stured into "a convulsive rattle."

Princip swallowed his cyanide pill, but i did him little harm. Neither did the authorities who covited him of murdler but could not execute him because he was a minor. Sentenced to 20 years, he died of tuberculosis in prison in 1918. By then, the war that started out his a punitive Austima tatteck on Serbia had beld all of Europe that followed the war, the Austro-Hungarian empire dissolved into fragments; both Serbia and Besnia were included in the new state of Yugoslavia.

That did not end the fighting, of course. When Hitler invaded Yugoslavia in 1941. Sarajevo and its mountains became a center of ferer resistance. Both German and Allied bomber raided the city. Nearly 15% of its inhabitants died in the war. The Slavy remember such things produly. That is why Princip, who is regarded by most of the world as a fanatic, is commemorated here by the two footorists near the river.



The U.S. usually comes away from the Winter Olympics with a pocketful of gold medals, most often won by athletes with skates on their feet. But at these Games both Alpine and Nordic skiers have a solid chance to climb onto the winner's platform.

Clear the Way For the U.S.A.

"We have to work harder and cowboy it out"

t is only for two weeks every four years | giant-slalom title in 1969 constituted the that most sports fans in the U.S. pay attention to international snowball fights. So even though he was a speedskating idol in Amsterdam long before 1980, Eric Heiden of the Golden Skates was an astounding discovery at home. One charm of the Winter Olympics is the inexpert opinion, maybe not completely mistaken, that the athletes in these neglected sports come close to some lost ideal, possibly even amateurism. Against a bright backdrop of ignored ski jumpers trying to fly with Finns, and irrepressible luge racers careering down icy troughs. young hockey players good enough to beat the U.S.S.R. can be taken for children. even after they disperse and report directly to the National Hockey League

Well, innocence may be catching up with America, because the U.S. is certainly gaining on the cold world. The team of 120 athletes headed for Sarajevo is flush with champions, and not only skaters this time, although there is a bumper haul of those, but skiers too. Count them, seven current or recent world titleholders: Alpine Skiers Phil Mahre, Steve Mahre and Tamara McKinney, Figure Skaters Scott Hamilton, Rosalvnn Sumners and Elaine Zavak, and Nordic Cross-Country Skier Bill Koch. Once the American public finds out that there is also a Nordic combined event and that it involves a 70meter leap one day along with a 15-km mush the next, who will believe that just about the best in the world at the moment is someone from Colorado named Kerry Lynch? Vermonter Jeff Hastings, one of those ski-jumping birdmen only casually acquainted with gravity, won a World Cup event in December at Lake Placid. Not only are hopes high, but the cause for hope is real and a bit exhilarating (see following stories)

In Phil Mahre and McKinney, the U.S. boasts both overall 1983 World Cup champions in Alpine skiing, an astonishing double in a sport that has been essentially the property of Western Europe. As of four years ago, Marilyn Cochran's Americans' solitary accomplishment in any of the three World Cup disciplines: slalom, giant slalom and downhill racing. While winning three overall championships since 1980. Mahre has skied away with three individual World Cup titles. and his twin brother Steve is a past world champion in the giant slalom. While both Mahres have begun the young season poorly. Phil standing 62nd and Steve 45th on the World Cup charts, they appear undismayed. Finding the groove can be like reaching up and flicking on a switch. In any order, the Mahres are capable of finishing one-two in either of the slaloms. Actually, it was Steve who won a World Cup slalom race last week in Parpan, Switzerland, though a mix-up of bib numbers with his brother disqualified him. Phil imagines the reason that he is the greater success is "maybe just because Steve didn't want to be. I was more on course while he was still deciding how he felt about ski racing.

McKinney is the first American woman to win an overall World Cup, and is also the giant-slalom champion. This season has likewise started slowly for her (seventh place), but last week in Maribor. Yugoslavia, McKinney followed Swiss Rival Erika Hess by just six-hundredths of a second, more than a good sign. "In the summer there was not much snow. McKinney says, "and I felt like I was training all the time. I think I got worn down by it." The trainer of the women's team. John Atkins. says. "If we put in the same amount of work as the Europeans. we would not have a prayer. We have to work harder, sweat more and cowboy it out. More and more, the elegant, pretty skiing doesn't make it. What wins is the slam and bash and amazing recoveries. When you have 90 women with pretty much the same ability at the top of a hillside, the ones who are going to make it down first are those who take the risks without thinking about it.

Joining McKinney among the well bruised are Christin Cooper, a slalom and







TAMARA

1983 overall World Cup titlist, from Lexington, Ky.

giant-slalom specialist who sometimes outshines Tamara, and Downhiller Maria Maricich. If Veteran Cindy Nelson is recovered from a knee injury, she is strong across the board.

The men may have found themselves a downkiller. Last week at Wengen. Switzerland, Bill Johnson scored the first World Cup victory ever by an American man in a downkill, despite screeching off (taik about slam, dash and amazing recovertes). Austrian Franz Klammer was atort winning downkills, truly nothing is sacred any more.

U.S. figure skaters usually invest all their hopes in one particular woman and, lately, no special man, but this time there are two eminent females, 1983 World Champion Rosalynn Sumers and 1982. World Champion Elaine Zayak, as well as the world's best male skater for the past three years. Scott Hamilton. A compact strongman, Hamilton should be the royal presence in these games and is thought to have a Heiden's lock on the first U.S. men's singles gold medal since David Jenkins won in 1960.

merican women regard the singles figure-skating competition the way the Austrians do the downhill. In the land of Peggy Fleming, Dorothy Hamill, Carol Heiss and Tenley Albright, the silver-medal performance by Linda Fratianne at Lake Placid four years ago was considered a slip-up (the gold went to East German Anett Pötzsch). But it is not standard for U.S. women to be fighting among themselves the way they are now; so evenly, that is. Sumners beat Zayak in the 1982 nationals, only to have Zayak rebound a few weeks later at the Worlds. and a sequined hair-pull has been in progress ever since

At last week's U.S. championships in Salt Lake City, after Hamilton had skated to victory with immaculate control, the competition among the women took a toll. Sumners won, though not impressively, and an obviously tired Zayak fell twice during her free-skating exhibition, winding up third behind promising Tiffany Chin, 16, of San Diego.

Figure skating actually prediate the Writer Games an Olympic sport. When Baron Pierre de Couberini revived temperature into accessit. High character temperature into accessit. High character (1968, and brough) hockey along in 1920. It was not until four years later that Noriosking, speed skating and bohieldding joined them for the first winter pageant, ho chores stragging in later. The bahlhom (1964, But the premiere even is still the first figure skating.

Considering that their sport, or art, is based on stability, skaters' emotions seem as fragile as snowflakes. Many of the par-



SCOTI HAMILTON Three-time world champion, from Bow ing Green, Ohio

ticipants appear as softly vulnerable as the star-crossed couple of Lake Placid. Randy Gardner and Tai Babilonia. Somehing at the base of this light and tender ages children by the pair are instructed how to hold on to each other as intimately as a man and woman. to hang on for dear life and try not to fail. When dropped, they shatter Olympic athletes in almost all of the various sports heed but the figure skaters make the best use of psychologists

The American pair. Peter and Kitty Carruhers, have a chance to win a medal. If Ice Dancer Michael Seibert has fully recovered from mononcelosis. He and Partner Judy Blumberg could do better than that. Ice dancing is less dangerous into throwing one's partner; but requires a much practice, enror than Seibert's illness has permitted. In an intriguing adaptation of Professor Harold Hills " think" system, Seibert and Blumberg have been practicing in their minds. "Sounds crazy," she says, "but it works." At Salt Lake City, his stamina was fine, and their winning performance was beautiful.

he Olympians with the hardest act to follow, of course, are the hockey players. A committee of coaches. National Hockey League scouts and other experts began the selection process by composing a list of the 80 top amateur players (some 30 of them N.H.L. draftces). They were evaluated in competitions at the National Sports Festival in each of the off years, and last July a team of 27 was selected largely by Coach Lou Vairo. a jovial former shinny player from that hockey hotbed Brooklyn. The star of the team, the center of "the Diaper Line." is Pat LaFontaine, 18, the No. 1 draft choice of the New York Islanders.

Before ever contemplating a rematch with the Soviets, the U.S. hockey team must contend with the Czechs, the Canadians and the Finns, all seeded higher. Without the warmth of home ice and the chants of jolly ingoists, the Americans may require more than a miracle this ime. "Theyre going to need all the breaks that we goit and more." says Herb Brooks, who coached the gold-medal Brooks, who coached the gold-medal everything seemed to fall into place at the right time."

The Olympic hockey team is handsomely endowed by five many sponsors. (Miller beer, Sassan clothes, Isuru Motors, Brastel-Myers and Check Full O' Nutscoffee) plus gate and television receips index Paula provided \$500000 of the \$13 million badget, about a tenth of which is the sky and the state of the state of the sky and the state of the state of the sky and the state of the sky and t



KITTY and PETER CARRUTHERS

Four-time U.S. pairs champions, from Burlington, Mass.

"amateur" skiers can strike rich endorsement deals as long as the money is paid through the team "for expenses."

Meanwhile, subsisting pretty much on their U.S.O.C. allowances, the biathletes (annual team allotment: \$60,000) buy most of their own bullets and the luge racers (\$90,000) their own sleds. The cost of a sled is between \$800 and \$1,000, and literally anyone who could demonstrate the ability to get from the top to the bottom without mortal injury was eligible to enter pre-Olympic competition; there are ten places on the Olympic team (seven men and three women, no doubles competition among women). Finishing twelfth in the Olympics still qualifies as a triumph for an American sliding downhill feet first on a Flexible Flyer

The U.S. won five bobsledding gold medals during the '20s, '30s and '40s, but the bitter bobsledders' joke is that some of those crates are getting pretty old. To this enterprise, the U.S.O.C chips in about \$100,000 annually, and Corporate Sponsor Lederle Laboratoris helps is somewhat. But the equipment afforded is far from the best on the mountain. Not just holding down for the count, those good old boys from. Swanac, Lake, physical did boys of the source of the source of the source will just about the best bolistedies in the Adirondacks and not quite the worst in the world.

On the alltime winter medal list, Americans stand thrid 136 gold. 44 (1996) and 1997 and 1998 and 1999 and 1998 and 1 dren is that so many of them will be losers. Because then they won't even try. It's the striving, the attempt, the fight. that's the important thing." Lynn Spencer-Galanes, half of a husband-wife US. Nordic-sking couple, says. "Nobody knows for sure how much effort really goes into it. Even coaches."

As for financial profit, the marketability of a brand name showing on a ski propped over an Olympic champion's heart is obvious. And an ice show hardly nothing more than a silver medial. Fratianne, who performs for Wall Dianovis Magic Kingdom on lee, says. "It's kind of the difference between being rich and really rich. Maybe it cost me some money vertafler."

A hockey player might conceivably raise his price on the basis of one heroic fortnight. Mike Eruzione, the bridge painter and minor leaguer who

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national champion, from Edmonds, Wash.

retrieved his amateur status to captain the 1980 team, has made something of a coltage industry out of these moments. There was a quick Coke commercial for Jim Craig, the goalie everyone wrapped in a flag, but the flavor did not last. American Express has just revived the 1980 team: "Do you know us?"

He rieden. who swept five speed-skating gold medils.chose not to capitalize beyond a few politic nods ever. Even though the UIS has won 16 speed-skating gold medils. including the first one. by Charles Jextraw in 1928, few Americans are surfaced by so much filling and arm swinging Terry McDernott. the skating harrer of 1984, and Shell Young, around without cutting any lasting icetow Heiden. the grazest speed skater in history—and an American—has flashed hioragh without leaving a trace. Diamone

speed-skating team. a four-time Olympic medalist herself, laments, "You would hope that after Eric's success the sport would grow. The disappointment is the realization now that it will never happen." The Olympic speed-skating team is in some disarray, quarreling over coaching methods. Several of the male skaters continue to follow defrocked Coach Bob Corby, who offended some of the women by his concern for their weight. Furnished \$500.000 by the U.S.O.C., the speed skaters did not expect a corporate sponsor, and they have none. One thing about speed skaters, though, when they tumble and go sliding into the wall, they always dust off their bottoms and finish the course. Mary Docter and Erik Hendriksen are Ameri ca's best, but a medal for either will be cause to rejoice

Holum, the coach of the 18-member

Inage. America'steam membersrange from 17 to 35, and their occupations are varied carpenter, state trooper, insurance ELAINE

Former world champion (1982), from Paramus, N.J.

agent. Navy frogman. Naturally there are also a lot of semiprofessional amateurs. Men and women alike, they will come to Yugoslavia dresed as cowhoys, in white sitesons, fleece-lined shepherds' coats; boots and jeans. This is roughly the same right to U.S wore to the opening ceremonies for years ago. The A mericain imagination must know some other variation of bunding up.



The leaders of the U.S. ski team, Phil Mahre and Tamara McKinney, have more than World Cup championships in common; along with assorted skiing brothers and sisters, both first took to the slopes when they were not much taller than a ski pole.

Their Success Is All in the Family

"We've spent the major part of our lives in the snow"

he thought of Americans at the top of the mountain is still heady and strange. Alpine skiing is baseball to the Swiss, the Scandinavians and the Liechtensteiners. In the U.S., it is barely lacrosse. Skiing is not a necessity in Lexington, Ky., but the reigning women's overall World Cup champion, Tamara McKinney, is from there. For three years, Phil Mahre of Yakima, Wash., has been the men's overall World Cup king, and his twin, Steve, holds the World Championship gold medal in the giant slalom. Skiers have been spotted in the Cascades before. but none like the Mahres (pronounced mares), who are leading the most promising U.S. team in history to the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo

At Lake Placid, N.Y., four years ago, Phil took a silver medal in the slalom, just the third Alpine medal collected by an American male in ten Games over 44 years; none has ever won a gold. In 1980 he finished behind the regal Swede Ingemar Stenmark, who also won the giant slalom. Slaloming is weaving through a course described by slender flagpoles. The giant slalom combines all this sideways whooshing with the third Alpine skiing discipline, downhill racing. While Phil also braves the downhill, he has basically followed the concentrated swerves of Stenmark, who has made slalom skiing more than just a specialty

To understand Phil Mahre and his chances, one must consider Stennark, who at 27, not far from the peak of his game, has been banned from Sarajevo for having the bad taste not to cover up his anateur income. For him, ski racing has always been a cold business. Since moving always been a cold business. Since moving understand the state of the state of the profited by millions at the cosi of his Olympic eligibility.

A dozen years ago, the late Olympic blunderbuss Avery Brundage took such umbrage at the profit motives of skiers like Austrian Karl Schranz that he contemplated downgrading the Games' skiing events to mere world championships. Brundage might barely have tolerated Phil Mahre. 26, who probably makes no more than a six-figure living, legally laumdered through the U.S. six iteam. Neither money nor celebrity inordinately comcerns him. As for gold medials, he says. "I don't know It's every ski racer's goal It would be exciting to win one. But I can live without it. To me, walking in the would be provided by the state of the same Opmprice. Winning the gold or making a lot of money is not the reason I am in the sport."

Expectations around the Americans have changed. In Europe, no longer are they regarded as just "those nice kids from the U.S." At home, they are the favorites. "Everyone gets involved in an Olympic year," Mahre says with a touch of vinegar, "but we do this year in and year out. The suddenness of the interest is always a little annoying, and all these expectations are not too enjoyable."

He has always skied for no other reason than "the fun of it " His father was encouraging but not insistent. Dave Mahre sadly quit apple growing 22 years ago and took a job managing a ski area in order to support his burgeoning family, which numbers nine children. The Mahre kids were customarily dressed from the lostand-found at the White Pass lodge, but the scenery was rich. Although school was an hour and a half away, the ski lift was just outside the door. "We finished our homework on the bus," Phil says, "and were off skiing and hiking as soon as we got home. We've spent the major part of our lives in the snow." By the age of nine, the twins were the joint terrors of the Buddy Werner League races, the local punt, pass and schuss contest. Exactly when Phil slid slightly ahead is unclear, but Steve imagines it was at the starting line. "I was born four minutes later," he says, "and I've been trying to catch up ever since

As sibling rivalries go, theirs is peaceful. In 1981, when Steve momentarily skied away with the points that would have clinched Phil's first World Cup.



Matched Mahres: Phil, left, with Daughter Lindsey, and Steve with Daughter Ginger. And not the other way around

their smiles stayed intact. On the last day of the season. Phil prevailed. When one breaks a bone, the other does not say ouch. But Steve says, "It really is like he's a part of me. At the Lake Placid Olympics. I ended up falling, but knowing that he was ahead after the first run made me feel great, almostas if it were me."

À skier's closest relationship is with the mountain "love to be on the hill in the moring when it's still dark," Phil says, "to make three or four runs just waitsays," to make three or four runs just waitbleak. December and dismal snow in Faitope, the brothers came home early from the World Cup tour to Yakim for practice over Christmans. So far, their best finialies have been a third for Skee and a unith for Phil, whome, says, "It's kinny someclick in. When everything's going right."

Tamara McKinney started the new season better, with a second-place slalom finish to Erika Hessol Switzerland, but she has yet to reach 1983 form. Christin Cooper, 24, who wrecked a knee during a training run a year ago, has recovered her health and exuberance. "When you can



Masterly McKinneys: Frances encouraged all her children to be top-of-the-hill skiers, and Tamara complied with a vengeance

take off and go where you want, you can go through irese. I's magic." Last season had been forecast as a watershed year for Cooper, but it was McKinney who made history. During I 6 years of World Cup competition, only twice Befor had one country swept the overall titles, and no American woman had ever won. McKinney beat theorem Alpine Alerschier Share gailtered of Use month Alpine Alerschier Share gailtered of Use month Alpine Alerschier Share gailtered for Use Am Cochran 1972 earning gold.

Sired by a Hall of Fame steeplechase jockey. McKinney was raised on a horse farm but bred to be a ski racer by her stage mother Frances, who rented a winter house near Squaw Valley. Calif. "I remember wearing baby skis." says Tamara, the youngest and the second most promising of Frances McKinney's seven children, five of whom reached the U.S ski team. Sheila. 25. the family's particular star, made the team at the unlikely age of twelve. But in 1977 she fell in a downhill run and was unconscious for a month After relearning how to talk, walk and write, Sheila could possibly have skied on but her taste for it was gone. "Mom's disappointed that I m not enthusistic about training any more.' Shelis axid a few years later. "Shel dossn't quite understand." A lathforother, steves. Ok unned to dardevil speed sking the once held the world's restingent and the shell of the shell of the instancion disqualified him from anaiteur competition. All family dreams were eventually handed down to Tamara. "I am out there trying to win, but I'm mostly trying to say happy," she says, seeming even younger than 21. "When racing, I occurry and event rise."

A 15 ft. 4 m. 117 Ibs. McKinney hardly curs the blocky figure of a woman skier. Actually, the entire woman skier. Actually, the entire waitro break Zaaland, karate and profosiball have been music into the exercises (Green Bay Packer Del Rodgers was a dill imstructor. With the exercises (Green Bay Packer Del Rodgers was bronzenidad winner in 1976, they are bronzenidad winner in 1976, they are at Val Ofstere, France, last month and at Val Ofstere, France, last month and to the the instrument in a knee. She returned to the U.S. immediately and has been working furiously to recover.

"Cindy knew every slope in Europe. says McKinney. "Her absence has hit us all pretty hard. The team's usual manner is joking and sometimes even throwing confetti. "The Europeans used to laugh at our crazy spirit." Cooper says. "but now that we've started winning, it drives them up a wall."

Nelson still hopes to be ready in two weeks. "You have to be healthy and lucky," says Phil Mahre, who is near the end. "This is my last year. I'll still be connected with skiing, but I'd like to venture out and try something else." He expects to miss the excitement at the starting gate. the camaraderie in the finish area and "even getting up at 6 o'clock in the morning." McKinney says. "It can't come together and it can't be good unless you're having a good time of it. I have to take a step back, breathe, have fun and do my best." Her success last year is sometimes a burden. "It's almost easier to get a little confidence in yourself quietly," she says. For the U.S. skiers, those days are with the U.S. women's ski team



Both aspects of figure skating—athletics and artfulness—have fierce partisans. Sarajevo will provide a showcase, and a showdown, for women skaters emphasizing one or the other. In the men's division, an undersize American should tower over all opponents.

This One Figures To Be on Ice

"When we're skating well, there's this magic"

he synthesis in figure skating of | fairy-tale lyricism and plain physical power has always been problematic. Today, however, the split personality is more fractious than ever. Skaters take sides. "Athletics in men's figure skating has been neglected," says World Champion Scott Hamilton, "Sure, there's some dance in it, but we have to be athletes first. They call it an Olympic sport, not an Olympic art, don't they?" The puckish young man is one of the most accomplished skaters in history, but his view runs counter to that of the Establishment. Since Lake Placid the sport's traditionalists have tried to curb daredevil virtuosity in the shows: a new rule will strictly limit the repetition of triple jumps by skaters in Sarajevo. "Skating had got off the track, and we had to get it back on," says one top U.S. skating official. "Skating is spins, body line and interpretation, as well as athleticism

Hamilton does not require any such imported his landing track after each the event practice session. Its imported his landing track after each them be absolutely fine and clean. For all his spartan talk about pure athletics, hysically powerful. With his miniature, hysically powerful. With his miniature, and the session of the playful otter waraped in a plain, spangle-free uniform, there is something of the playful otter about him. All good skaters make it look easy, but Hamilton's skating looks inexlean across ice more help but spin and lean across ice

Of all the Americans in YugoAlvai, Hamilton, 25: olsest to a shoo-in for a gold medal. He finished fifth at Lake Placid In 1980, but since September of that year, he has won all his competitions, including four US, and three world champiorships. For all he sexy-looking excesses. Hamilton has had the inevitasuccesses Hamilton has had the inevitavecus how all these idealistics values about "You have all these idealistics values about what a champion should be". He says. "and suddenly you're thrust into living up to 1: fielt I could never let down. I drove myself crazy. I was terrible to myself and everyone around me." His coach helped him to accept his fame. "I realized that I didn't have to be what the champions before me had been. I could be me."

He was a taunted runt as a child in Bowling Green, Ohio. His growth had been stunted by Shwachman's syndrome, a disease that interferes with normal digestion. Bul Hamilton, at age eight, serendipitously found a therapy: ice skating. He was no prodigy, but his prowess became a cocky defense against teasing.

Hamilton still buys teeny shoes (size 55) and clothes in boys zizes, but his attitude toward his sport is grown-up. "You ive, you hope. for 100 years. You are only a top skater for ten. So that is the perspective." He knows that his insuball, singleminded life has been severely limiting. "I'd like to come away from the Olympics, take a full breath of air and know that I've done everything I wandto to do."

Hamilton's charmed career has allowed him such equanimity. For the women, much younger than he, it is harder. Carlo Fassi, who coached queenly Peggy Fleming and girlish Dorothy Hamill, looks askance at the current, let's-get-physical trend in women's skating, "Elaine Zayak came along," Fassi says of the 1981 U.S. champion and 1982 world gold medalist. and "everybody started trying to add triples whether they could do them or not. Even if they don't fall, they do the same triple seven times. That's boring." Rosalvnn Sumners, a more conventionally feminine skater, agrees-rather pointedly. Competitions had become "a jumping contest." says Sumners, who has now beaten triplejumping Zavak for the U.S. title three times and won the 1983 world championship after Zayak, injured, dropped out. "They weren't looking like ladies.

Zayak, the spunky bounder from Paramus, N.J., Sumners, the graceful princess from suburban Seattle, both with a chance to win the gold. It is tempting to couch their competition in Sarajevo as a grudge match. "Sometimes I think they'd like us to skate out on the icc. take ten



Zayak admittedly was once "a spoiled brat," but not a bad apple

paces and shoot guns at each other." Zayak said asy ear. For all their manifest differences. Zayak and Summers have a lot in common. Both are blond teen agers (18 and 19, respectively) about 5 ft. 2 m. Both dealt badly with their early championship celebrity and turned plump: Zayak went from 15 to 138 dterh eri nigury. Sunners gained 15 pounds. Neither is exactly poised: Zayak speaks in a squeek punctuated by giggles. while Summers burbles like a placid Valley Girl.

"I was a spoled brat," admiss Zayak, She quit the sport last summer-for ten days—when it seemed that an ankle fracund the second second second second second much to learn. Dealing with the defasts made me grow up. I'm sure there are easigares. "She's fought tack a long way," grace. "She's fought tack a long way," prize student. "Her spins are crisp and really fast, the's ulmying like the was in '81. It's all there. I just hope the judges let themselves set." The Objmpic judges gether and do ti." ays Zayak. "As far







For the playful Carrutherses. togetherness keeps them in halance

ore like Puck than a cowpoke. has not lost in more than three years

ers gets in the swing near Salt Lake City during last week's nationals

as I'm concerned, it's no big showdown." They had something of a preliminary her come-from-behind gumption.

Sumners' performances are sweet and sculptural. In her trademark maneuver, she follows a kind of swooping, swanlike glide with the difficult 21/2 airborne spins of a double axel. Some fellow Olympic team members are concerned, however, that the sheltered teenager has not mastered the inner game of figure skating. Says one: "I really wonder if she's got the emotional strength to be what she wants to be." The determinedly upbeat Hamilton points to the difficulty of withstanding the pressure at the top. "She has the physical capabilities." he says. "but emotionally it's very, very difficult. I hope she doesn't let the emotion take over." Sumners admits to an extreme, storybook am-

TIME JANUARY 30, 1984

showdown last week. The rivalry, conceded Sumners in Salt Lake City, "is stronger than ever." Despite her victory and Zavak's misfortune at the nationals on Saturday, the Olympic outcome remains uncertain. In November Sumners inexplicably lost a European competition; her coach, Lorraine Borman, argues that Sumners may have needed that loss to fuel bition. "I want to be the greatest queen ever," she has said. The stakes for her at Sarajevo are enormous: a silver medalist who joins an ice show could earn \$2 million less than a first-place winner.

he Carrutherses, brother and sister Peter and Kitty, may not be aiming quite so high, but the sheer pleasure they derive from the sport seems unsurpassed. The U.S. champion skating pair has never placed better than third in world competition. But Kitty adores Peter, he is reverent of her and both are dauntless performers. (Defying preposterous odds, they are the separately adopted children of a Massachusetts engineer and a teacher: Hamilton too was adopted, also by teachers.) Skating pairs are a unique entity in sports, competing neither individually nor as members of a large team. Their event is all a matter of synchrony. Like other iceskating pairs, Peter, 24, and Kitty, 22, are in sync off the ice as well. If they were not ingenuous, the Carrutherses would be treacly, awful. "When we're skating well." says he. "there's this feeling that is magic. a strange force we have together." Kitty: "It's almost supernatural." Peter: "We

love skating " Kitty: "Together."

As skaters, though, they are nearly ferocious, perhaps more athletic than artful. They do a special one-handed lift with Kitty spinning prone, and in Yugoslavia they may attempt a quadruple throw: launched by Peter, Kitty does four mid-air spins, a maneuver never tried in competition. "At this level," says their coach, Ron Ludington, "so little separates any of the pairs that something like the quad may be just enough to make the difference." The quad is dangerous, but Kitty craves the thrill. "I love the feeling of being thrown, she says. "It's born into you. If you're afraid, you'll never be able to do it.

Fearless or phobic, most skaters are also romantics, including the superathletes among them. Says Hamilton: "I'd like everybody-Rosalynn and Elaine. Peter and Kitty-to come away from this year satisfied with what they've done, and ready for the rest of their lives." Zavak, for her part, is not thinking much beyond the Olympics, the grand chance to redeem her string of failures. "It's made me mad." she says. "and when I'm mad. watch out!" -By Kurt Anderson. Reported by B.J. Phillips with the U.S. figure skating team



Riding a heady mixture of patriotic fervor, home-crowd adrenaline and plain good fortune, the 1980 U.S. Olympic hockey team stunned the world with a savory sports upset. Now come the new boys of winter. They are younger, stronger, faster, snazzier than their gold-medal predecessors, and their coach is a student of the European style of play. But Team '84 faces even longer odds as it tries to pull off the Olympics' toughest encore.



LaFontaine is down, but it's Canada that is out as the American's shot slides in for a goal during one of the exhibition games

Another Miracle Is the Goal

"We'll need every break, need to go at full intensity to steal a medal"

Do you believe in mirales?" or you believe in mirales?" of an estatic Lake Placid crowd as the last seconds of the Soviet-American Olympic hocky semiinal game ticked away with the Americans leading 4.3. The horn soundde, and Michaelis and the nation exploded. 'Yes!' With this victory and the next a 4.4 own over Finaland. the had done more than bring U.S. hockey its first Olympic gold medal since 1960. For a few happy days, they had set America skating on air.

That was 1980. Now, as another Olympics looms. Lou Vairo watches an even younger bunch of Cinderella kids preparing to skate into Sarajevo in hopes of picking up the other glass slipper. Vairo, the ebulient Brooklyn native who serves as head coach, chereleader and godfather figure of the 1984 Olympic hockey team, tugs at his dark chin and says. "This is probably the best U.S. team ever. But on skills alone we can't match the Swedes and Finns, let alone the Czechs and Russians. We'll need every break, need tog full time at luli intensity. to steal a medial. Still, we know it can be done—the miracle of 1980 proves that. We'll just need another, bigger miracle to repeat this year."

Miracic The word hangs around the necks of the 84 squal like a tailsman and an albatross. The new scam has traded in medial predescass for calchivity with an uncasy dege—avid media attention, solidue shhistion games and an offer to pose at masse for Vgaue—all in the reckless twice. It puts unholly pressure on the young statents, some of whom had hardly began shaving for years ago, when Jim Craig, Mark Johnson and the rest were to But far you so than an enrofuse a miracle, Vairo, 38, may be the one: his own success story points to the moral that in sport, anything is possible.

Most hockey coaches come from the frostbelt-from what Vairo, with an outsider's irony, refers to as "the Massachusetts-Minnesota hockey establishment. Vairo learned the game on the streets of Brooklyn. Literally. He played with roller skates on asphalt, using a roll of friction tape for a puck. Until he was 21, Vairo had never put on ice skates. But soon he was hanging around New York Rangers practice sessions and reading anything he could find on the subject. By 1972 he had saved enough money to send himself to Moscow. the mecca of European hockey. "Soviet teams made magic with the puck." Vairo says. "Their tempo was quick, and they were always in superb condition. I figured this was the model to copy

Appointed head coach of this year's Olympic team in 1982 (after directing squads in Brooklyn and The Bronx to five league championships and a state title and an Austin, Minn., team to a national crown), Vairo assembled his four-man coaching staff and, last June in Colorado Springs, held tryouts for Sarajevo. From an original list of 250 amateurs, the coaches chose 80 top skaters. Vairo was looking for players fast enough to cover the wider Olympic rinks and adaptable to what he calls "sophisticated pond hockey"-the patient game of weaving and passing that wins Olympic medals, as opposed to the dump-and-chase, bump-and-grind National Hockey League variety.

The meticulous selection process hore fruit. Most observers agree with Hockey Historian Stan Fischler, who says, "There has never been such talent on a U.S. team as this year. And they are every bit as well coached as in '80. Vairo can match [former Head Coach] Herb Brooks at the blueprint table, and

then top him with psychological motivation." Says Ken Morrow, an '80 alumnus who now plays dogged defense for the New York Islanders: "The 1984 team is more talented than we were, in speed, skating skill, stick handling and goal tending

It is precocious talent indeed. Even with two grizzled veterans from 1980 (Captain Phil Verchota, 27, and John Harrington, 26, both forwards) returning to the '84 team, its average age is only 20.7 years-the youngest in U.S. Olympic hockey history. Leading the offense is "the Diaper Line": Center Pat LaFontaine, 18, and Wings David A. Jensen, 18, and Ed Olczyk, 17, LaFontaine, sweetnatured and teen-idol cute, left his home in Pontiac, Mich., in 1982 to sharpen his skills in the Quebec Major Junior Hockey League, where he scored 104 goals to break records set by Islander Mike Bossy and Montreal Canadien Guy Lafleur. The U.S. Olympic chief assistant coach. Tim Taylor of Yale, praises LaFontaine's See-ing-Eve hands: "He has a quick stick and a fast release with no waste motion.

Though his teammates call him (short for "the fran-"Franny" chise"). LaFontaine is modest about his celebrity. "Playing in the Olympics is a dream come true," he says. After Sarajevo, LaFontaine will join the four-time Stanley Cupwinning Islanders: he could thus follow in Morrow's skatesteps as that rare athlete who wins an Olympic gold medal and a professional championship ring in the same year. "Gosh, wouldn't that be great?" whispers Superkid. "Two dreams come true.

LaFontaine is not the only budding superstar on the 1984 team. Fellow Diaper Liner Olczyk is judged by pro scouts to be an instant starter in the N.H.L. Born in Chicago, he started playing hockey at six. "My ankles hurt so much I cried." he recalls. "But my mom wouldn't let me quit." Now Olczyk



is the Olympic team's third-highest scorer, chugging up the ice with deceptive speed, passing sharply and firing one of the hardest shots on the squad. "I play like it's life and death all the time," he says with intensity. This fall, when his team played exhibitions against the N.H.L., Olczyk would give the pros fits during the game, then earnestly ask for their autographs afterward. Another Olympian, baby-faced Al Iafrate, 17, describes himself as being "in shock when I heard I'd made the team." The smooth defenseman will soon make another team: scouts say he may be the first pick in this June's N.H.L. draft

At the very least, all the Olympic skaters would be in shape for the pros' grueling schedule; they will have played 65 exhibitions and logged more than 50,000 miles, traveling to rinks from Finland to Soldotna, Alaska (pop. 2,320). Their record is good: 37 wins, 18 losses and 8 ties, including a 3-3-1 split against N.H.L. teams and 5-4-3 against the Canadian Olympic team.



Bring on the ner Line left to right: Olczyk. LaFontaine

The highlight of the U.S. Olympic exhibition season has been a six-game series against the Soviet Selects, 20 players just below the level of the U.S.S.R. Olympians. Playing before huge crowds that waved American flags and chanted "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" the locals won the series, 3-2-1. It was the first time any North American national squad, U.S. or Canadian, amateur or N.H.L., had defeated a Soviet national team in a series on this continent. (Since 1977, U.S. amateurs have an honorable 10-12-3 record against Soviet hockey squads.) "We grew up as a team against the Selects," says Vairo. "There was a game we played in Cleveland, with 16,700 people in the stands, and in the first period we scored three goals and shut them down on every inch of the ice. I wish I could have bottled that period. That was gold-medal hockey.

Team U.S.A. will have to play goldmedal hockey in Sarajevo if it has hopes of winning even a bronze. The U.S. is seeded only fourth in the tough Blue Division, behind Czechoslovakia, Canada and Finland. It must gain at least a split of its first two games (against the Canadians and the Czechs) to advance to the medal round. And there the Soviets-the real Soviet team, which former Canadien Goalie Ken Dryden has called "the greatest hockey team in the history of the game"-lie in wait, hot for revenge. In the recent Izvestiva international tournament in Moscow, the Soviet team handily won every game, playing all likely Olympic opponents but the Americans. One Philadelphia hockey writer imagined a U.S.-U.S.S.R. game in Sarajevo as being like "the Brady Bunch going up against the A-Team." U.S. Assistant Coach Dave Peterson, who scouted the Soviets, finds them better and deeper than in 1980. "But I didn't see a single team in Moscow, including the Soviets, that we can't skate with,' says he. "If we play our best, it's not unre-

More len than his predecess Vairo atili

brooks no

loafing on

the ice

alistic to expect a medal."

It was unrealistic in 1980. Indeed, it was the furthest thing from the minds of just about everyone in the world. Now the 1984 team laces up its skates to see if a children's crusade from America can beat the world's best. The smart money says no. According to Fischler. "Our defense can probably handle the physical part, but when the Russians start their razzle-dazzle checkerboard game, they could psych our young guys out and drive them crazy." Others argue that beyond the Diaper Line, the U.S. team does not have the scoring punch to stay competitive on offense, "Maybe so," says Vairo. "But a lot of the same things were said in 1980, and look what happened. I'm still a believer in dreams. And in my dreams, we win." -By Richard Corliss. Reported by Lee Griggs with the U.S. hockey team



Their names are far from familiar, and their faces blend nicely into a crowd, but they too will be testing their limits. U.S. bobsledders, lugers, Nordic skiers and jumpers expect to win America more respect on the back side of the mountain but not much in the way of gold, silver and bronze. Theirs is a lonely world of personal bests, where mind not medals, effort not endorsements, remain the valued core of competition.

Marching to Their Own Beat

"I get my happiness, my life, from the act of striving for excellence"

ar from the flash and golden glamour that glint off U.S. Alpine skiers, figure skaters and hockey players, another breed of home-grown Olympians will drive themselves beyond reason in strange and dangerous events without so much as a pat on the back or, for most, even a faint hope of gold, silver or bronze medals. U.S. athletes in the "minor" winter sports of biathlon. Nordic skiing, bobsled, luge and ski jumping have won only one silver and one bronze since 1956. But despite archaic equipment. meager training and, in most cases, pitifully small funding, they persist against the lavishly bestowed resources of Scandinavia, East Germany and the U.S.S.R. And this year, while perhaps only four have medal prospects, the 50 or so plucky Olympians have dreams of personal bests and extra effort that will bring the U.S. a wisp more respect on the back slopes of the mountains. They are, says Bob Hughes, manager of the U.S. luge team, "the last real amateurs

They may be the last real madmen as well. Lyk Neison. 34, devotes himself to exasperating events that combine grueling cross-country races with markamanperiodically halting to fire a .22-cal. rifle from 50 meters at small metal discs. Trying to steady on a target with a heart beating 200 times a minute from sking is, says former U.S. Casach Art Stegen. "like a last na approximation" a .5000-meter race as an approximation of the steady of

Neison, an erratic performer during his carly days in the event. temporarily left the sport two years ago to develop his you sport promotion business. "When you spend ten hours a day doing one thing," asys the resident of Sterne Lake, family or social life." But the competitive dedication, fine-tuning his skist and fring 6.500 practice rounds He continued rigcome training even when his father became terminally ill. "I'd like to be at year." His ascriftees will prohably earn Nelson, who on past international performance is America's best, no better than In what may be his last Olympics, Blathlete Nelson has his sights on a top-ten performance



15th place next month in his third and possibly last Olympics. But that is not the point. "I've given up too much just to be an athlete for the good times." he says. "Before, if went out there and turned in a mediocre performance, it was all right. Now it takes more than that."

American bobsiedders, on the other hand, are trying to recapute former glory. Until 1956 the U.S. dominated the sport, with 14 medials. But the Swiss and the East Germans have been masters of the 90-m.ph., highly technical thrill ride in recent decades. The East Germans now recruit the cream of their summer sprinters for the event's crucial 50-meter running start. The U.S. has moved slowly to catch up. Long controlled by several venerable clubs around Lake Placid, U.S. bobsledding has become parochial and, some critics claim, possibly racist. Efforts to add speedier newcomers have prompted tensions. Blacks, notably Gold Medalist Hurdler Willie Davenport, who competed in 1980, have not been warmly welcomed to the chill upstate New York Olympic site. But the prime reason for America's slide from gold is lessthan-state-of-the-art equipment. After a typical defeat in an international meet last year, novice Pusher Joe Briski, 28. encountered an East German who told him. "You Americans can send a man to the moon, and you still



High-flying Hastings, with the greatest of luck, could find the rainbow at the end of his arc

Leading Luger Warner will skid home sans medal but still crazy about the sport

If his sinuses and his senses are untroubled. Koch can earn a lonely cross-country triumph

drive down the mountain on this." The off-screened "agony of defeat image of a ski jumper blowing it on ABC's Wide World of Sports is an ironically accurate one: Americans have not landed a medal in the 70- or 90-meter event since a 1924 bronze. In Sarajevo, all eyes will be on Finland's renowned Matti Nykänen. That is just fine with Jeff Hastings. 24. and Mike Holland, 22, both legitimate medal contenders. They have flown on their 16-lb, skis since their childhood days in Norwich. Vt. It was not a desire for the limelight that has had them flying. "Defying gravity for a few seconds is kind of addictive," says Hastings, who bested Nykänen at a December meet. The pair trains year round with four two-week European jaunts, warm-weather practice on plastic-matted jumps and such regimens as daily rides on unicycles for balance or diving for form with the University of Vermont swim team. Obscurity is an advantage. Hastings believes. "With the Norwegians, everybody's butt is on the line. We don't have to deal with that."

The Nordic Combined might as well be a smorgasbord entree to most Americans, but it may become less exotic after Sarajevo. Many consider Coloradan Kerry Lynch, 26, the world's best at the event. which pairs a 15-km cross-country race with a 70-meter ski jump. Lynch hopes for an end to the sport's, and his own, obscurity. For the U.S. to take the gold away from the defending champion East Germans. he says, "would be like the South Pole coming up and winning the Super Bowl."

The U.S. luge team would be happy to finish in the top ten, but even then the sport may remain mysterious. A Congressman once asked if the luge was something to eat. An empty stomach would be more in keeping for anyone climbing onto the 4-ft.-long, 48-lb. sleds that offer the wildest ride in sports. Dressed in sleek bodysuits and helmets. lugers lie on their backs inches above the ice, descending feet first at 70 m.p.h. or more. The problem is finding enough enthusiasts for the sport. There are only 250 competitors in the U.S. (Hey, kids, want to go to the Olympics? This could be your best bet.) Stanford University Junior Bonny Warner, the top woman slider on the improving squad, had never heard of luge four years ago. She won a magazine contest to be a 1980 Olympic flame carrier and on a lark attended a Lake Placid luge development camp. One ride did it: "I was just a maniac for the sport," she says. "I After she was couldn't get enough." hooked, though, the problem was getting enough money. Until this season she had to scratch as much as \$4,000 together each year for equipment and travel. "One night I slept in a closet. I only had \$20 in my pocket," she says. Warner will probably not have a medal either. Maybe by 1988, the 21-year-old hopes.

merica's premier minor-sports figure, Nordic Skier Bill Koch. 28. trains relentlessly for the first U.S. gold in the sport. "Cokie," as the harddriven Oregonian is known to teammates. astonished observers two Olympiads ago by winning America's first medal (a silver) in the Finnish- and Soviet-dominated event, but he unexpectedly quit a 1980 Olympic race, prompting complaints that he was an arrogant loner. He says he would rather be "an anonymous person."

In 1982 he returned to form, winning the World Cup cross-country competition. But Koch has remained intense and intensely private as he prepares for one of the most demanding and certainly the longest-distance event in either the Winter or Summer Games, the 50-km (31mile) cross-country race. He fears Russians less than microbes. Says he: "You spend years preparing for a specific event and then sit next to someone who's coughing. It could be all over

Koch stresses mind over medals and effort over interviews. Perhaps that is the inevitable legacy of all those years when the U.S. finished far out of the running. unnoticed and unremarked. His goal: to be out on the course alone, skis singing in the tracks and his true Olympian's heart pumping anonymously, gloriously to its limit. Says he: "I get my happiness. my life. from the act of striving for excellence. Winning is just the frosting." For Koch and the other U.S. competitors, Sarajevo will be no piece of cake. -By LD. Reed. Reported by Steven Holmes/Lake Placid



Naturally there will be many Olympians other than Americans in Sarajevo, 1,450 of them from 47 nations. Here is a look at some-almost all of them from Europe, unsurprisingly-who are favored to ski, skate, jump or slide away with gold medals.

The Best of the **Rest of the World**

"Of course I hope, but I don't even expect anything"

hough Americans may have more to cheer about than ever before, the cold fact is that the Winter Olympics usually belong to those who take ice and snow the most seriously-the Europeans. Over the years, nations have carved out their own niches: the East Germans in bobsled, the Austrians and Swiss in Alpine events, the Nordic countries, naturally, in Nordic events, and the Soviets in just about everything else.

Many winter athletes have emerged

from the Olympics as world-famous superstars-Norway's Sonia Henie in figure skating, for example, or France's Jean-Claude Killy in skiing. Even lesserknown competitors are national idols. pampered by their governments and enriched by sports-equipment companies. The following are a few of the best to watch out for at Sarajevo.

The brightest star in both the 70- and 90-meter ski jumps is Finland's terribletempered Matti Nykänen (pronounced Nuke-an-en), 20, who looks and often acts like a troubled teen-ager. Nykänen democratically erupts at almost anyone, from coaches and reporters to a messenger who recently made the mistake of asking him to sign for a congratulatory telegram. "He might blow up at any minute." says his coach. Matti Pulli, and a fellow jumper adds: "He doesn't really talk: he gripes.

Like his personality. Nykänen's jumping style features more aggressiveness than grace. His landings are often weak, and some jumping experts consider him gawky while aloft. One reason for the criticism: instead of lying flat over his skis. Nykänen tilts to one side on the theory that it gives him more sail. Though jumpers are judged for style as well as distance, the gold usually goes to the man who jumps farthest. Says Nykänen: "I am not too concerned with how a jump looks." A hard-working and daring athlete. Nykänen ranks at the top of the current crop of jumpers, and may prove to be the best of all time. However, after winning the 1983 World Cup, he fell into a puzzling slump. He has no wins at all this winter, and finished fourth, fifth, second and sixth in his last four meets. If he falters at Sarajevo. the gold could go to Canada's Horst Bulau or the East German star Jens Wiesflog, this season's leader in the standings. Nykänen thinks Bulau is the man to beat. The Norwegians, led by Per Bergerud, are also strong.

In downhill, the most prestigious of



Olympic champion in 1976 downhill 1983 World Cup downhill winner, from Austria

ENKE Gold medalist in 500





the winter contests, the 1983-84 season mins here containing and lackituster. Austria and Switzerland have the strongest men's Alpine team, each with ten or the right day. Every nation is limited to four skiters in a newn, and the Austrians and Swiss are likely to wait until the last minute to make the final cut. At the Lake Placid Olympics in 1980. Austrian Cash-Karl Kahr namet the anaherstade Locuisanda. Stock won the gold medal, and has not won a single meas income single stock of the stock of the single stock of the single stock of the signal. Stock won the gold medal, and has not won a single new single single stock of the single stock stock of the single stock of the single stock of the single stock of the single stock won the gold medal. and has not won a single meas income.

Kahr may need a feat of similar perspicacity to hold off the Swiss at Sarajevo. In six World Cup downhills so far, the Swiss have taken first place in three, in contrast with Austria's two. The current leader in downhill points is Urs Raeber. 25, with another four teammates in the top 15. Says an American coach. "The Swiss will be the team to beat at Sarajevo."

The strongesi Austrian downhillers are Ervin Resch, 22. Harti Weiranher, 26. and the sentimental favorite. Franz Klammer, 30. The famous star of four downhill world Cups, then lost his touch. Klammer seemed to live the way be skied, with an instinct for controlled recklessness. He emerged as a major cofied care and downhill groupies. In the late "306 Klammer suffered considerable tuman when his vouncer brother Klaus was paralyzed below the waist in a downhill accident. In 1980 Franz failed to make the Austrian Olympic team. "I lost my pleasure in skiing," he said. "I wanted to get off the mountains and do anything else. like swim."

By 1981, despite a lame shoulder, klammer managed to sittoh his life together again. He had married, settled down, trained hard, and he won the 1983 World Cup downhill by 3 points over Switzerland's Corradin Cathomen. Most World Cup downhill by 3 points over the site of the site

A mong the non-Europeans. Canada's Sieve Podborski. 26. whose horaze at Lake Platoi was the only men's downhill Olympic medal ever won by a non-European. has been hobbied by three knee injuries. and is not expected to regain his old form at Sarajew. His earnmate Toda Brocker. 24, seems to have come through seven knee operations in umble to jag, swim or train on a bicycle. Al he can do is fing himseff down a hill with his old atmon.

Handicapping the downhill is doubly difficult because the Sarajevo course is not up to world standards. "It is definitely an inferior course." says a World Cup official. "If there is lots of snow, the course is too easy. If there is little snow, it's too dangerous. You cannot predict a skier's reaction to it. On a technically demanding downhil, you pick the control skiers and you are usually right. On a fast course you pick the bombers like Brooker or Klammer, and you are usually right. At Sarajevo none of this seems to apply." If Sarajevo does not get snow. Michael Mair of Italy may have a chance at the gold He is the heaviest skier on the circuit, and can be devastating on a snow-poor slope.

West Germany's Irene Epple. 26. a specialist in the giant slalom and downhill, has been a mainstay of the women's ski circuit for eleven years. Epple, who wants to be a doctor when her skiing days are over, grew up in a small Bavarian village with a modest ski slope and ski lift just outside her front door. Though she has had her share of triumphs, including a silver in the 1980 Olympic giant slalom and a World Cup first in the same event in 1982, she has never quite established herself firmly at the top. This may be her chance, what with Hanni Wenzel, this year's World Cup leader in Alpine skiing. out of the Olympics. Says Epple: "I never make forecasts. Of course I hope, but I don't even expect anything." Strong performances are expected from the U.S. team and from Erika Hess, 21, of Switzerland, who won a bronze in the slalom at Lake Placid.

The ice-dancing competition raises two basic questions. Will the British pair





MATTI

The 1983 World Cup ski-jumping champion, from Finland

TORVILL and DEAN

World ice-dancing champions for the past three years, from England of Jayne Torvill and Christopher Dean blow out the competition, as they did at the Hesinski World Figure Status (Championships task March¹ And even if the status and the status and the status ter all if dancing on ace is an Olympic game, why not blatterom dancing? Sport or not, use dancing was installed at the Opympics in 1976, over the grunbles of several members of the International Opympic Committee, and Sover, the transed spectators have made it one of the most popular warre events.

Torvill. 26. and Dean. 25. live a few blocks apart in their native Nottingham She is a former secretary. He is an ex-police trainee. Teamed since 1975, they have won eleven championships and now completely dominate their event. They astonished Helsinki with a circus routine called "Barnum," alternately clowning, playing mock trombones, walking the high wire. tumbling and dancing. All nine judges posted 6.0s for artistic impression, the first perfect score in any skating event anywhere. Combining those with the points for technical merit, a solid row of 5.9s. "Barnum" set a new scoring standard and had fans wondering how Torvill and Dean would try to top themselves at Sarajevo.

Surprisingly, the team will attempt a rule-bending dance to one of the old chestnuts of the musical world. Ravel's *Bolero*. The pair start out on their knees. locked in an embrace, and do not get up to sarr dancing unit a full 20 seconds tick by .Some erities are already disapointed, complaining that the tempo and pace are not saired enough and some routines are ways led to believe that ice dancing that for have a number of changes of tempo." are strained to the saire dancing that for have a number of changes of tempo. "are changed, but what is the Russian judge offset. We had to try to develop in new diples." We had to try to develop in new directions. That's what it's all about."

Doubts about the Boleron number faded last week at the European Championships in Budapest. T & D won easily earning eleven perfect 6.0s, out of a total of 18 scores. The only judge not to award at least one 6.0 was a West German. Torvill and Dean said they would quit the amateur ranks after this season and turn pro.

n women's speed skating, most of the mediakare likely to go to the East German team. The two beat-known racest are Karin Enke. 22 and Andrea Schöne. 23. both from Dresden. Enke is favored in the 900- and 1.000-meter prints. Schöne in the 1.500- and 3.000-meter races. Schöne a nurse and the mother of a threeyear-old son, won a silver in the 3.000 at the Inasbruck "O Olympics. then finished fourth and sixth in her two races at Lake Placed in 80. This has been her preatest season, with victories at all distances.

Encle a good example of East Germany's hothouse sports system, was admitted to the Meisterklasse, the top training sound and the sport of the sport of the 500 meters at Lake Placit, and was sprint world champion in 1980, 1981 and 1983. Like Schöne, she is having a brilliant seasole, that cambios me to exploit my campbilities better," she says. A star sprinter, Encle is also good at longer distances.

The East Germans are also the team to beat in bobsledding and the luge, with the Swiss and Soviets contending on the sled, and the Austrians and Italians in the luge. East Germany takes the sledding sports very seriously. Its stars get financial security (most are in the military) plus social status and unlimited training time. An artificial ice chute at Oberhof, which opens earlier than any other run in the world, enables teams to get a jump on foreign competition. Coaches have begun to recruit track and field athletes for bobsledding, particularly beefy shotputters and discus throwers strong enough to push a sled off to a fast start. Two of the best-known sledders are former decath-Ioners: Bernhard Germeshausen, 32 (17 bobsled medals. including three Olympic golds), and Wolfgang Hoppe, 26

The East Germans pour a good deal of money into high-tech refinements of sled design. Their newest bobsled, perfected last winter, has heavy shock ab-



EPPLE

Silver medalist at 1980 Olympics in giant slalom, from West Germany

SOVIET

Goalie Vladislav Tretiak on silver medalist hockey team in Lake Placid

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sorbers and a narrow, streamlined chassis. One problem: the sled is so thin that some West Germans think the pushers may have trouble jumping in quickly, The Swiss. West Germans and Austrians have tried to beat the new sled, so far without much luck. The Russians, who are comparatively new to the sport. have come up with a sled that is the talk of the circuit-the "torpedo." sleek bob with a new steering unit and a ball-and-joint suspension system that helps keep all four runners on ice better than a conventional sled. The streamlined body can cut as much as two seconds off a 1.300-meter run, when thousandths of a second can decide a race.

Sarajevo's new course has a noteworthy feature that helps justify its \$8.5 million cost: a wall near the third turn can be removed after the Olympics so that even oldsters and children can use part of the run without breaking any bones.

In hockey, Carelosi/makin has a discipined, veteran team that finished second in last year's World Championships and ided the winning Soviet team in the medail round. Along with the U.S. Sweden. Finiand and West Germany are regarded as serious contenders for a silver of the team of the series of the series of the probability of the series of the series of the I U.S.S. R. Taylor samped Soviet team. I ed by its extraordinary goalie. Vladisau I est the series of the series of the series of the than the one that lost face at Lake Flacif. A last year's World Championships in Munich, the six all-stars picked from the participating teams were all Russians.

The best of them is Tretiak, considered by many the greatest goalie ever to play the game. He allowed only four goals in the seven games of the 1983 World Championships. His 5-0 shutout of the Montreal Canadiens a year ago was so dazzling that Montreal fans gave him a four-minute standing ovation.

ne game Tretiak remembers all too well was the 1980 Olympic face-off against the U.S. Leading 2-1 with seconds to go in the first period. he stopped an American shot and relaxed an instant too soon. The rebound was swept past him at the buzzer to tie the game. Soviet Coach Tikhonov replaced Tretiak for the rest of the game, and the back-up goalie gave up the two goals the U.S. needed to win 4-3. Tretiak was bitter about being removed and accused his coach of panicking. "I was playing well but not spectacularly," he said. "If I had been able to stay on, who knows what the outcome might have been.

Tretiak is not a product of a sophisticated Soviet talent search, but rather a kind of accident. At age eleven, while swimming at a Moscow pool, he saw two youngsters warning gaudy hockey sweaters. The colors and lettering of the sweaters looked so dazzling that he begged his mother to take him to an army junior hockey school. She did, and Tretiak beat out 19 other contenders for admission. It was the uniform again that decided his position on ice: he agreed to play goalie because he was more attracted by the goalie's gear than anything else.

Tretiak is large for a goalie-6 ft. 1 in ... 207 lbs .- with unusual skating agility in the crease and the iron will to dominate his territory. This will be his fourth Olympics, the most for any Soviet hockey player, and he is seeking his third gold to go with the embarrassing Lake Placid silver. Tretiak is thinking about retiring after the Olympics, though there is no sign that his reflexes are going. A year ago in Montreal, he was quoted as saying he would like to play for the Canadiens some day. though he denied the quote when it got him into difficulty back home. Montreal took the trouble to draft him last June. just in case. But Tretiak, a major in the Soviet army, is unlikely to work in the West He is finishing his studies at the military academy in Moscow. After that, he says carefully, "I have to look for a job here. not there.

Finally, a word about Bojan Krizaj. 27. the local here In truth, he is not a favorite, but he did finish fourth in the giant slatom in Lake Placid, missing bronze by only 02 sec. No Yugoslav has ever wona gold medal in a Winter Olympics. How could anyone mind if Krizaj became the first? — *Bi* kole leo. Reported by Cary Leo/Bichothofen and William Redemarkers/Rituble, with other bareas



Economy & Business

Some Unfamiliar Optimism

TIME's European Board of Economists foresees a year of U.S.-led growth

Pesimism has become so ingrained in Western Europe hat even a modest economic upturn catches people by surprise. Six months ago. Thuf's European Beard of Economiss feared that the incipient recovery might be aborted by persistently high interest rates or a suddlen crisis in the world's strained financial system. That did not happen, and, at their lates meeting in Paris. TME's board indulged in some unfamiliar. If mult optimism.

While trailing behind the more dynamic performances in the U.S. and Japan. Mestern Europe nonetheless can expan. Mestern Europe nonetheless can extine a structure of the structure of the time failing, from last years 7.5% to 6.4% in 1984. Unemployment is not expected to decrease, but the rise in the number of location of London's Fluxueral Times: Faurce clearly is a tortoise when compared with the U.S. and Japan. but it is enformance."

The recovery, however, is uneven Northern Europie isleading, the move out of three years of recession and near stagnation. Britain, once the laggard of the European Community, a naw in the forfront of the Common Market, followed cleasely by West Germany. The Natherlands, belgium and Switzerland. The Greece and Spain, are expected to missi Greece and Spain, are expected to missi again of the first assess of the upswing. Only Italy will probably join the north in a spart of growth this year.

Hans Mast, a University of Zurich lecturer and executive vice president of Credit Suisse, was encouraged by some of the trends he sees accompanying the economic expansion. He predicted that the drive for greater efficiency and profitability is likely to push firms toward more capital investment and increased emphasis on exports. He expected that the nine major European economies would produce a surplus of \$30 billion in their trade of goods and services this year. That compares with a rough balance in 1983. The U.S. last year had a deficit of about \$40 billion, and could incur a shortfall of twice that much in 1984. Mast also noted that the less developed countries were finally emerging from two years of recession and financial crisis, a situation that should help to spur world trade.

Government budget deficits should decline, said Mast, even if they remain between 14% and 16% of gross national product in Italy, Belgium and Sweden. Given this background, Mast expected that "1984 could be the year of declining interest rates in both the U.S. and Europe." Other board members, though, remained skeptical about any significant drop in the cost of money.

While lower U.S. interest rates would reduce the dollar's value against European currencies, the board was split over whether the U.S. currency would fall Despite their guarded optimismbard members were careful to point out pitfalls ahead. Said Mast: "One of the maging weaknesses in the present conomic picture is the rise of new social tensions all over Europe." He circle due public erlands, but he could have included violence at the Peugeot auto plant in the Paris area earlier this month that injured more than 80 people.

Board Member Herbert Giersch, di-



* Britain, France, W. Germany, Raly, Beigium, The Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland

much this year. For Brittan, a cheaper dollar would be "the best new year's gift that countries, not excluding the U.S., could get." But both Mast and Guido Carli, former governor of the Bank of Italy, predicted dire consequences for the European Community if the dollar took a sudden plunge. Mast talked of "new tensions in the European monetary system. Carli observed that a weaker dollar would ignite "the usual wrangle" over an adjustment between strong-currency countries (West Germany and The Netherlands) and weak-currency ones (France, Italy and Belgium). Said he: "The Common Market would be put in jeopardy more than ever, and perhaps the U.S.-European relationship could be damaged."

recur of the University of Kiel's Institute for World Economics, mentioned growing, confrontational heteror," beemperative the second second second second without corresponding decreases in pay-Behnd the social tensions, said Maat, is the drop in parchasing grower suffred Behnd the social tensions, said Maat, is the drop in parchasing grower suffred continent-wide austrity efforts. He added. "Now that the employment situation seems to be improving, they are asking for better conditions." Excessive sugge due the recovery method lopper-

Surveying the European Community's four major economies, the board offered a surprising mix of forecasts:

WEST GERMANY. The Kiel Institute's Giersch was happy to point out that he had been a bit too pessimistic six months ago in forecasting a 2.25% growth rate for West Germany in 1983. The real upswing began in the last half of the year, he said, pushing growth for the entire year to 3%. Giersch predicted that the recovery in West Germany would continue in 1984 but at a slower pace, dipping slightly to about 2%. But unemployment will decline only a fraction, going from 9% to 8.75%, while inflation, now running at an annual rate of just 2.5%, is expected to stay at roughly the same extraordinarily low level. Giersch told the board that there were fears in West Germany that high interest rates along with the decline in the money supply could choke off recovery in 1985. Giersch, however, believed that slow growth could be maintained, helped in part by exports. Other weak spots were visible in what Giersch called "the rust belt"-those industries such as coal, steel and shipbuilding that are in urgent need of government help to survive. Giersch lamented the lack of venture capital in West Germany and the inability of business and government to adapt to changing markets at home and abroad. "Unlike the U.S.," he said, "we have not made many attempts at deregulating businesses." The result is what he called industrial "Eurosclerosis.

BRITAIN. "Nineteen eighty-three was a bad year for forecasters and a worse year for pessimists," said Brittan, pointing single percentage point or so. According to Jean-Marie Chevalier, professor of economics at the University of Paris Nord. 1983 and 1984 "will be the first time in 30 years that we will have two consecutive years with a growth rate of less than 1%. Yet inflation stubbornly refuses to yield much ground to the government's austerity program. The official target for 1983 was 8%, and the result was closer to 9%. For this year. Chevalier predicted that inflation will slow to 7.5%. Unemployment. meanwhile, may be running higher than official figures. According to Chevalier, 9.1% of the job force was without work in 1983, though the official rate was 8.5%. This year he expects unemployment to reach 9.7%. One of the few clear-cut successes the government can point to is the 50% drop in the French trade deficit, to an estimated \$5.5 billion last year. Chevalier expects the decrease to continue.

ITALY. The battle against inflation. which reached 12.5% last year, pushed the Italian economy into virtual stagnation. Carli, however, expects a rebound of 2.5% in G.N.P. this year, with inflation inching down to 11%. That prediction. though, hangs on wage negotiations now getting under way among the government, employers and unions. Said Carli



"In Italy, we have rediscovered the socalled incomes policy." The main source of worry and uncertainty in Italy, according to Carli, is the budget deficit, which now represents 15% of the G.N.P. and threatens to grow beyond that. The present political argument in Rome concerns whether to raise taxes or reduce government spending as a means of cutting the deficit, estimated at \$50 billion in 1983. Carli is skeptical that government expenditures can be cut deeply enough to begin to solve the problem.

Carli launched the board on a discussion of the continuing struggle over Common Market programs. He called for fundamental reforms in the financing of the Community and its common agricultural policy, which eats up two-thirds of the organization's \$22.5 billion budget. Said Brittan: "The enormous expense of the agricultural policy is reducing the standard of living throughout Europe. Only landowners are benefiting; not even the small farmers are getting anything.

Brittan was critical of the Community's industrial policy. saying. "The Community risks having the same kind of mess in industry that we have in agriculture. It is absurd for Brussels to try to determine which industries can grow

The drift in Common Market policies was criticized last week in a speech by French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, who warned that the European Community "has fallen far short of its original objectives" and faces difficulties that could destroy it. Chevsson said the Community lacks "cohesion and solidarity" and has had too little impact on international events.

hen asked to prescribe some policies to spur Western Europe to faster economic expansion. the board found broad consensus. Giersch led off by pointing to the success the U.S. is having in creating new companies. He argued that better prospects for profit were necessary to create new investments in Europe. Above all. Giersch said, Europe needs to create incentives so that entrepreneurs can succeed in creating new firms and new jobs. Brittan called for a standstill on real-pay increases so that Europe can catch up competitively. Such a measure, he said, "would break the back of the unemployment problem." Chevalier confessed that one mistake to avoid repeating was France's attempt to establish an overall government-led industrial policy. This, he said, has mainly produced unnecessary official spending, especially in the nuclear-nower industry

Jan Tumlir, the chief economist for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), maintained that protectionism remains one of the most pressing problems facing the international economy. Tumlir pointed out that 48% of world trade is now hindered in some form or other and said that freer world commerce was the foundation for sustained growth. In recent weeks, however, trade frictions have been increasing. Angered by U.S. restrictions on specialty-steel imports, the European Community retaliated two weeks ago by slapping curbs on a variety of American-made products, including chemicals and sporting goods. The Common Market action, to take effect March 1, is scheduled to last four years.

Even though business is starting to pick up, the political situation could pose a threat to the European economy. The peace movements, Carli maintained, have created doubts about Western Europe's security that are affecting its economy. Said he: "The possible Finlandization' of Europe has introduced an element of uncertainty. If this uncertainty is not removed. I see difficulties getting investments of the size needed to create jobs, no matter what economic policy we follow -By Frederick Painton

been overly gloomy about their country's capacity for a significant business pickup. The British growth rate last year reached 3%, and Brittan predicted it would go to 3.5% in 1984. Inflation, which fell from 5.5% in 1982 to 5% last year, will

decrease further, to 4.5% this year. Under those conditions. Brittan forecast that the number of jobless workers will go down nearly half a point, to 11.9%. Consumer spending, which was responsible for much of the good news last year, will quicken even more this year, according to Brittan. Exports too are expected to rise in a broader range of industries than was the case last year. Brittan credited part of his country's perky economy to weakening union power, which has meant that workers are willing to settle for smaller pay increases.

FRANCE. Still paying for the Socialist government's ill-timed gamble for quick growth in 1981, the French economy this year will stagnate once again. Gross national product is expected to rise only a

Nuclear Fissures

More billion-dollar blunders

Only three months ago, the immense construction site at Indiana's Marble Hill nuclear power station alongside the Ohio River bustled with 8,000 workers Now the cranes and earth movers at the plant stand idle, and a shroud of snow covers the project's jagged skeleton. Last week Public Service Co. of Indiana. Marble Hill's principal builder, announced that it would ahandon the half-finished plant altogether. Marble Hill has already eaten up some \$2.5 billion, making it the most expensive nuclear power project ever to be dropped. The decision brings the total number of cancellations of U.S. nuclear plants since 1974 to 100

Public Service began constructing Marble Hill in 1978. The original cost estimate for the plant, situated near the small town of Madison, was about \$1.4 billion. But Marble Hill rain into the same sort of quality-control problems that have bedeviled the rest of the nuclear power in-

Economy & Business

latest in a long series of setbacks facing the nuclear power industry. Just three days earlier, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission refused to grant an operating license to the nearly completed \$3.4 billion Byron nuclear power station near Rockford, III. Regulators said they had "no confidence" in the quality-control procedures for some of the plant's construction. The NRC's move was unprecedented in the commission's history and was more surprising because Byron's operator. Chicago's Commonwealth Edison. is regarded as the most experienced atomic power generator in the U.S. Though Commonwealth is appealing the decision. the NRC's denial undoubtedly helped accelerate the loss of faith in nuclear power among investors and consumers

The Byron and Marble Hill decisions seemed to spark a chain reaction of anxiety about the costs of nuclear power. Cincinnati's city council called on Cincinnati Gas & Electric to abandon plans to complete the Zimmer nuclear plant, which has been plaqued by mismanagement and safety lapses. Zimmer, budgeted at \$240 million when it was proposed in 1969, has



The project's voracious appetite for cash has left the utility pleading for a 14% rate boost

dustry, and cests shot upward. Constrution crews, for instance, routinely failed to repair properly the air pockets that formed in the concrete as it was being poured. Last month a task force estimated the total price of completing the project would be 57 billion or more.

Mathie Hill's voracious appetite for cash has left he utility strapped Just to continue generating power to its 540,000 stratemers. Public Service stail it will immediately need to boost rates 14% Later the utility plans to apply for additional rate increases to begin paying off its 32-2 ibility and the construction bill adarring the financial birden. The utility adarring the financial birden The utility of its vock has cut silvedenb 955% and the proce of its stock, has fallen from 27 a year ago to 9% lasts vock.

The scuttling of Marble Hill was the

already cost some \$1.4 billion and is not expected to be completed until 1986, eleven years behind schedule. Taking this into account, CG&E and the other two power companies building Zimmer announced at week's end that they will convert the plant to a coal-burning facility.

In Michtigan, Autorney General Trank Kelley publicly urged the state's largest utility. Consumers Power: to follas Indrana's example and abundon complant. Proposed in 1967 at an expected acts of 520 million. Midland will probably reach 55 billion. asys Kelley. Midland came under adultional criticalism last week from 'federal inspectors, who announced that the flowtor use of Midland's buildsures seemed symbolic of the whole nuclear power industry.

Rollback

A break for phone users

R aising the phone bills for millions of Americana during an election year is abhorrent to politicians. That is why Conreges has been moving incovariably toward repeal of controversial access charges on long-distance telephone service that were due to go into effect on April 3. Last week, Communications Commission decided to delay the charges until next year for individuals and many small businesses.

The FCC last year ordered the fees. ranging from \$2 a month for individuals to \$6 for businesses with only one phone line, as part of the restructuring of phone charges taking place in conjunction with the breakup of American Telephone & Telegraph. Until now, revenues from long-distance charges have been used to subsidize local service. The new fees were to help replace that subsidy. But the House last November passed a bill striking down most access charges, and the Senate was preparing to pass its version of the bill. Before the Senate got around to voting, the FCC announced its move. The delay will not affect companies with more than one phone: they will still have to pay the new charges

A T & T had said that it would lower long-distance rates by more than 10% once the access fees went into effect, but A T & T's critics did not like the math. Access charges could save A T & T \$3.3 billion a year in subsidies to local phone companies. But because of other costs, the company had proposed cutting long-distance rates by only \$1.75 billion. As expected. A T & T was unhappy with the ICC action Said Executive Vice President Kenneth Whalen: "We find any delay by the FCC extremely troublesome. It's a disservice to customers because it could prevent the sizable long-distance reductions we had planned.

But there was some satisfaction among other phone companies over the tree desism. As part of its ruling, the agency also allowed MCI Communications. Spirit and other long distance comcount, all east and the line when it is just as easy to use the new services as those of A 18 T. Currently. MCI customers must punch in up to twelve extra numbers to make a long-distance call. The net effect of last week's action, sain MCI, Chahrman petition in the long-distance marks 1[°].

In another, more subtle way, both polticians and telephone industry executives welcomed the FCC's move. It meant that the access charge issue was being taken back by the commission and away from Congress, where the politically sensitive subject had always rested unesity. Said a relieved aide. "The FCC is the right place to untangle these complex questions."

Telecommuting from a Flexiplace

Fans and foes take second looks at work-at-home programs

An the electronic cottage Just four years ago. Alvin Toffler in *The Third Wave* described a halcyon future when people would work at home connected to the office by inexpensive computers. No more commuting. No more expensive office buildings. Higher productivity since employees would not be constantly interrupted as they are at the office. Wrote Toffler: "Our entire economy would be altered almost beyond our recognition."

Now that idealized world to come is undergoing heated revision as more and more people use their homes as places for computerized work. In experimental projects across the U.S. several hundred elerical and professional workers have clerical and professional workers have home on computer terminals electronically linked to their firms office computers. In management jargon they are "telcommuting" and work at "Becipites."

An estimated 15,000 electronic work stations are now in operation in the U.S. Jack Nilles a director at the University of Southern California's Center for Futures Research. forecasts that in the early 1990s 12 million computers will be sold annually. Other experts predict that within 15 years as many as 10 million people will be working from home.

While the advantages of computerized work at home have always been obvious. futurists did not always see the darker side a celent/. The first drawback is that executives fear they will lose contol over employees. "Management does not trust the worker at home without close supervision," says Arthur Brief, a New York University professor. "Employers are concerned if somebody is not standing with a whip over employees heads and saying "Produce."

Companies often select their best and brightest employees for teleworking because those workers require little super-

vision. Even so, the designated home workers may feel out of louch with the office and fear the possibility of being passed over for promotion because they are out of sight. Says Nilles: "You need good management to make the programs work."

Companies are also discovering that working at home may not result in significant savings. Says Frederic Withington, ress consulting firm: "Superb devices will be available, but at relatively high cost because of deregulation."

Labor specialists and union leaders have a strong distaste for the home office of the future. They fear that computerized sworkshops will bring back the exploitation of turn-of-the-century sweatshops. Says Donal telliburg, Assistani Labor Secretary for employment standards in Sworm and the idea that the swing machine is somehow different from a compare terminal. Union officials maintain



Rave review: Reynolds and his at-home pal



Ann Blackwell processes medical claims while her daughter Christy and a close friend watch A halovon future was promised, but now some skeptics are raising serious questions

that employers will circumvent minimum-wage and child-labor laws, curtail health benefits and force workers to buy office equipment usually paid for by firms Last October the A.F.I.-C.LO. passed a resolution that called for a ban on computer home work, except for the handicapped.

Companies that have experimented with work at home have enjoyed a few successes but also some failures. Mountain Bell, the Denver-based subsidiary of U S West, the new telephone holding company, found that executives who worked at home writing course-instruction manuals for computer programmers increased productivity by 48%. But not all these home workers liked it. Three out of the eight managers who enrolled in the program dropped out. A female manager wanted to get back to the office after gaining 20 lbs in two months because she was always running to the refrigerator for snacks. A male executive, beset by marital problems, found that being in the house all the time contributed to his divorce. The third dropout missed social contacts with his friends and could not discipline himself at home

Some employees, of course, have no officulty in adapting to work at home. For the past three years Angus Reynolds, Ar a Control Data consultant. In as used a terminal supplied by the company in his Reston, Va. home to review software. Says he "Whenever I wanted to get home to work on so that I could get away from the distractions and hubbub of the office."

Orraine Bernstein, 55, a Control Data manager in Pasadena. Calif., keeps track of twelve employees in two offices by using a Control Data computer and a teephone. Says she: "It saves wear and tear on you. I look at it as expanded time for work." Bernstein used to spend two hours daily commuting to and from her office.

Ann Blackwell, 32, of Pontine, S C, processes more than 1,500 physicians and employers claims a week for Blue Cross Blue Shield of South Carolina on keeps in her den. She earns, 16e a claim, which is comparable to the wages paid to office workers. Her husband Tim, a Blue Cross executive, brings home 300 to 400 claims each night and returns the proclaims each night and returns the protriks a great system for me."

Work at home is fair from being the promised land that Toffler and other futurisis predicted. And if home projects are to succeed they demand a greater management than is now found in many U.S. corporations. The technology of teleworking is relatively easy, the management of it will be much more difficult Cast and the subscription of the technology of teleworking is relatively easy. The difficult Cast and the subscription of the difficult Cast and the subscription of the difficult Cast and the subscription and Amdehnion Neurol Theorem

63

Volkswagen introduces for families in a hurry.

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Hanging Tough

A battle over banking reform

Since becoming Federal Reserve Board chairman in 1979, Paul Volcker has built a daunting political power base. When his term was running out last summer, Volcker's clout in Congress and the financial community helped him survive a campaign by Treasury Secretary Donald Regan to prevent his reappointment. Now the Federal Reserve chairman has again shown his strength. In a battle among top Government officials. Volcker has blocked a plan that would have diminished the Federal Reserve's powers over U.S. banks as part of an effort to centralize the regulation of financial institutions in a new federal banking agency.

The latest challenge to Volcker

fice of the Comptroller of the Currency forming its nucleus. Under this proposal, the EDIC would concentrate on insuring bank deposits, while the Federal Reserve would focus on controlling the U.S. money supply and acting as a central bank for its members

Before the plan got very far. Volcker torpedoed it. He pointed to the key role that the Federal Reserve has played in dealing with such crises as the Hunt brothers' silver scare in 1980 and the continuing foreign-loan problems of developing nations. Stripping the Reserve Board of its regulatory powers. Volcker contended, would cripple the agency. Said the chairman: "It would indeed be dangerous to look to the Federal Reserve to pick up the pieces in a financial crisis without also providing it with the tools to do the job."

Realizing that no reform bill is likely to pass Congress without Volcker's support. the task force worked on a compromise. By



stemmed from a debate over who should rule U.S. banking. Authority over some 4.700 national banks is shared by the Federal Reserve Board, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). In addition. Volcker's board regulates about 1.000 state-chartered banks that are members of the Federal Reserve System, while the FDIC supervises nearly 8,800 state banks that do not belong to the Fed.

The potential for conflict among the bank regulators has grown enormously in recent years because of the rapid proliferation of financial services. Disputes have arisen about what businesses banks should be permitted to handle. The FDIC. for example, wants the banks it oversees to be able to offer brokerage services. insurance and travel assistance, but the Federal Reserve Board generally opposes such diversification

In December 1982, the White House set up a task force to draft a plan to overhaul bank regulation. Headed by Vice President George Bush and Regan, the group includes Volcker, FDIC Chairman William Isaac and C.T. Conover, the Comptroller of the Currency. After a year of study the task force reached a general consensus that the power to examine and regulate banks should be consolidated in a new federal banking agency, with the Of-



Fed Chairman Volcker balks at giving up clout Jousting for power in the realm of finance.

last week, the group's staff had fashioned a plan in which the Federal Reserve Board would have control over the 20 biggest U.S. banks, the five largest banks in each of the Reserve System's twelve regional districts and all state banks. But at a contentious 90-minute task force meeting. Regan. Conover and Isaac argued that Volcker was getting too many concessions, and the session ended in a stalemate. Said a disgusted Bush: "You guys aren't pulling together. You're more interested in protecting your own turf

The task force may try again this week to reach an agreement. It seems certain, however, that any compromise will leave Volcker's power largely intact and do little to defuse the rivalries among the top U.S. bank regulators.

Poor Reception

Warner curtails Oube

n 1977, when Warner Communications with great fanfare launched Oube, a "two-way television" system. Gustave Hauser, then chairman of the firm's cable operations, hailed the Columbus venture as "a supermarket of electronic services." Eventually the system expanded to five other cities and became a joint venture of Warner and American Express But last week a key part of Warner Amex's ambitious Qube experiment joined the growing list of cable-TV casualties.

The Qube service enables subscribers using hand-held terminals to participate from their homes in programs ranging from quiz shows to televised public opinion polls. But after finding a lack of interest in the two-way offerings. Warner Amex decided to virtually close down its Qube network, which had been supplying 90 minutes of nightly two-way programming to 325.000 homes in six cities. While Qube subscribers will still receive up to two hours of locally originated two-way shows each day, they will have only occasional access to new network programs.

The blackout represents the latest cost-slashing move by former Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis, 52. who left the Reagan Cabinet last January to become chairman of Warner Amex. It currently operates 121 cable systems in addition to the six Oube outlets in Columbus, Cincinnati. Pittsburgh. Dallas. Houston and St. Louis. Under Lewis, Warner Amex has embarked on such steps as an effort to cut existing cable service in Dallas. Pittsburgh and Milwaukee. Even so, some analysts expect Warner Amex to run up more than \$100 million in losses this year, on top of an estimated 1983 deficit of as much as \$80 million.

S uch red ink reflects the overcrowding and the slowdown in revenue growth that have been driving some major firms out of parts of the cable industry CBS scuttled its CBS Cable cultural channel in September 1982 after just 13 months, and RCA and Rockefeller Center. Inc. folded their Entertainment Channel last year. nine months after it began.

Other corporations have spun off cable ventures or taken refuge in mergers. Last year ABC and Westinghouse sold their jointly owned Satellite News Channels for \$25 million to Ted Turner's Cable News Network. Two additional firms, Showtime and The Movie Channel, merged last September in hopes of offering stiffer competition to Time Inc.'s Home Box Office. the industry leader.

Shake-outs and cutbacks are likely to continue. Says Lee Isgur. a leading video analyst with Paine Webber: "Cost-awareness fever has struck. The previous period can be looked upon as cable TV's infancy. Now that companies have learned the market, the retrenchment will go on."



Valenti at home in Washington with his video-cassette recorder: Is copyright real or is it mush?

Decision: Tape It to the Max

The Supreme Court says a VCR switch in time is not a crime

Relax Just press the play button, then settle back in the Barcalounger to watch the episode of *Cheers* that you mised last Thursday because of the lassgna dimer at your mother-in-law's. No more guilt or anxiety. No video swart team is going to sweep down on you! livmant the sweep down on you? livmant the sweep down of the sweep sweep down of the sweep do

It is legal because last week the Supreme Court ruled, 5 to 4, that home vidcotaping of television programs for private use is not a violation of copyright law. The anxiously awaited decision grew out of a suit brought by the Disney and Universal studios in 1976 against the Sony Corp., makers of Betamax video-cassette recorders (VCRs). for enabling home viewers to record movies and TV shows without paying a royalty. In 1981 a federal anpeals court in California decided in favor of the studios. Since then the billion-dollar VCR industry, as well as millions of consumers, has been in a state of legal limbo. Last year the Supreme Court took the unusual step of holding the case over until this year and went so far as to request rearguments.

In its decision, the court held that "time-shifting," the recording of a program for later viewing at a more convenient time, constituted "fair use" of copyrighted material. Wrote Justice John Paul Stevens for the majority: "One may search the Copyright Act in vain for any sign that the elected representatives of the millions of people who watch television every day have made it unlawful to copy a program for later viewing at home." The court found, moreover, that Disney and Universal-and, by extension, the entertainment industry-had failed to prove that the practice caused them financial injury or damaged the value of their copyrighted work. Thirteen years after the introduction of the VCR, a switch in time is no longer a crime.

No sooner had the court spoken than the predictable outery was raised by Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, who has spearheaded the entertainment industry's million-dollar lobbying campaign against unrestricted videotaping. Valenti questioned whether the "copyright is real or whether it is mush," and insisted that "the future of creative entertainment of the American family is what's at stake here Producer Irwin Winkler (Rocky III The Right Stuff) was being only slightly sarcastic when he said: "Creative people have to eat. With this decision they will make less income. They eat a little less. Maybe they create a little less

To Hollywood film and television pro-ducers, home taping means getting something for nothing: the consumers are getting something while they, the producers, are getting nothing. The producers dispute the high court's contention that people are only "time-shifting." Consumers, they assert, are building up video libraries of copyrighted material and hence reducing the resale potential of the material to other markets, such as broadcast reruns, cable and prerecorded cassettes. Hollywood still wants what it has wanted all along some kind of royalty payment from the manufacturers of tapes and machines, perhaps drawn from a surcharge on the sale of those items.

Networks and advertisers, too, see home taping as something akin to a biblical curse. Argues AFI-CIO Executive Jack Goledner, who represents TV and film performers and technicians "Take The Wizned OG2 which is shown every year on television. If 40 to 50 million people have taped it. shat sponser would kann to the flast-doward battom that base advertise ermost agattact for with It. susy Valenti, viewers can "assassinate" commercials while either taping programs or playing them back. Says Richard Kostyra, senor vice president al. Walter Thompson, the mattern play tecturage firm. What took have taped to be the same taping the sponse and the tapic tecturage firm. What took now take 15².

The entertainment community is counting on help from Congress, which is precisely where Justice Stevens suggested it look. "It may well be." wrote Stevens. "that Congress will take a fresh look at this new technology, just as it so often has examined other innovations in the past. Representative Don Edwards of California, co-sponsor of a bill that would authorize a copyright royalty system, affirms that "the court didn't intend this decision to be the final answer." Yet Edwards admits that putting a royalty tax on one of the nation's favorite consumer toys in an election year is no politician's idea of how to keep his job.

Some iegal scholars agree with Hollyword that technology is on fast forward while Congress and the ourt are in slow the congress and the ourt are in slow the state of the state of the state of the generation of the state of the state of the problem of the state of the state of the US. Since then, sales have increased stadily by 100° in several of the state of the disposed of the state of the state of the stade of the state of th

Hollywood will doubtless go on lobbying and arguing. But some observers question whether in the long run there will be any losers. Once upon a time Hollywood practically wanted Congress to outlaw a newfangled contraption called television. Watching TV is now the most popular leisure-time activity in America. The VCR only expands the amount of time devoted to that peculiarly nonactive activity, and thus expands a market in which many producers can flourish as program suppliers. Notes Charles Ferris, a former Federal Communications Commission chairman who is counsel for an electronics-industry lobbying group called the Home Recording Rights Coalition: "The VCR watcher was either unable to watch the show the first time or is watching for the second time. Either way that means an incremental increase in the audience." Such an increase benefits everyone, according to Ferris: a rising tide lifts all boats, even Hollywood yachts. -By Richard Stengel. Reported by Anne Constable/Washington, with other bureaus

Computers

Apple Launches a Mac Attack

The Macintosh rolls out in a din of publicity and showmanship

Apple Computer's new Macintosh will be introduced this week, accompanied by sirens and ceremony fit for a maharajah. TIME San Francisco Correspondent Micheal Moritz watched the computer's development while writing a book about Apple that will be published this summer by William Morrow & Co. His report:

W hispers about Macintosh have circulated for more than two years, but in the past six weeks Apple has been

relentessly ihumping drums for tis new machine. The company has used a fleet of tractor-trailers to transport. In faishly demostration to 1.500 dealers in site force, ouried Wall. Street anailysts and tried to arrange deals for exclusive magazine extirely de- *World*, a magazine extirely de-*World*, *World*, *World*

The cause of all the hullaba loo is a jaunty, cream-colored computer that will sell for \$2,495. From the side, Macintosh looks like an offspring of E.T. and R2-D2 that might start walking. But the fuss is also about Apple, the company that likes to say it invented the personal computer. If Apple is to beat back IBM and continue the whiriwind progress that has taken it on a seven-year ride from manufacturing in a California garage to annual sales of \$1 billion. Macintosh must be a triumph

Though Apple sold more

than 100,000 of its He computers during December, the company has been losing out to IBM. Apple's share of worldwide personal-computer sales, according to Dataquest, a California research firm, has slipped from 29% in 1981 to 23% in 1983. IBM's part has grown from 3% to 28%. Last week IBM announced that it will spend \$40 million boosting its new computer, the PCir, which is designed to compete with the Apple IIe Faced with IBM's attack. Apple President John Sculley says: "We've got to make Mac an industry milestone in the next hundred days. If we don't get it together in 1984. Apple is going to be just another personal-computer company." Concurs John Roach, chairman of Tandy, the maker of Radio Shack computers: "If Mac

Apple Computer's new Macintosh will be | doesn't take off. Apple has to watch out."

In Mac, Apple may have a winner, The machine, which weights only 20 lbs, and can be carried in a tan tote bag, has many of the features Apple introduced in January 1983 with its Lisa computer. It uses a "mouse" a pointing device the size of a stick of butter, that permits users to of a stick of butter, that permits users to a path of a button. Like Lisa Mac refless heavily on symbols and pictures on the screen to help people conquer computer work through a television set. He built a cardboard mock-up and recommended that Apple produce a battery-powered portable home computer that might cost about 51.000. Raskin code-named the machine Macintosh, misspelling the name of his favorite kind of apple. Working with just two others in cramped offices near Apple's headquarters. Raskin tride to make the Macintosh as easy to use as a television set or any other household appliance.

The Mac project coincided with a period of by/antine office politics inside the young company. Apple co-founder Steven Jobs. at the time a vice president, wanted to head the development of the Lisa program, but Apple President Michael Scott

and Marketing Boss A.C. ('Mike') Markkula regarded him as too erratic and inexperienced to handle a major project. As a consolation, Jobs was given the Mac program and Raskin showed aside. Recalls former mail group. Scott and Markkula thought it would keep him out of their hair and he wouldn't bother the Lia people."

Jobs immediately tried to put his stamp on the project. which he regarded as a test in which he could prove himself. He wanted to rename it Bicycle. but backed off when the members of his new group protested. The engineers and programmers were stirred by Jobs' aggressive style. Says Mac Programmer Andy Hertzfeld: "Steve said, 'I'll get this team that will make a cheap computer and blow the Lisa team off the face of the earth."" Jobs recruited some veterans of Apple's early days and bet John Couch, then head of the Lisa division, \$5,000 that Mac would beat Lisa to the shop window



Last week in New York: Jobs in coat, Sculley in Jacket, Mac in bag Fighting to make the machine an industry milestone in 100 days.

> phobia. But unlike the more expensive Lisa, Mac cannot swap information between different programs.

Apple hopes that Mac will differ from Lisa in one important way popularity. While Lisa was touted last year as a technological marvel, it has been a market dud. The company hoped to sell 50,000 in 1983, but sold fewer than 20,000. The main criticism of Lisa was its \$10,000 price tag.

The machine on which Apple is now placing such high hopes started out as a minor project. Mac. as the computer is affectionately called within the firm, began life in 1979, when Jef Raskin, the writer of the first comprehensive manual for the Apple II, was asked to build a computer that would sell for less than 5500 and

The new boss played both nanny and scold to the Mac group, which has grown from 50 in 1982 to 100 today and has an average age of 28. He often spent nights and weekends hovering around the lab as his chief hardware engineer, Burrell Smith, 28, designed five vastly different versions of the computer. To spur his team. Jobs staged frequent parties, sushi dinners and seaside retreats. presented medals to workers, and rewarded the most valuable engineers and programmers with Apple stock options tucked into thin gray envelopes. He embossed their names on the inside of the machine and teased them with promises of fame when the computer came out. Last year when the Mac group moved into a larger home. Jobs spent \$1 million on decor. The building now has an atrium

and fake skylights. He also installed a Toshiba Compact Digital Disc player and 6ft. tall Martin-Logan speakers that play classical and rock music 24 hours a day.

Jobs left his imprint particularly on the easthetics of the project. He insisted, for example, that all 90 computer hips be rearranged on a printed circuit board to straighten the solder traces. He worked with the Begian-born commercial artist Jean-Michel Folon to pragre advertuements for Ma. But he part found worksome, and Jobs retained other artists been the publicity brochures accompanying Max reflect Jobs and contain one of his per phrases."

As a boss. Jobs was often obdurate and capricious. When Mac's sound quality failed to meet his standards, he threatened to remove the feature unless engineers corrected the problem over a weekend. The sound, which is provided for games and computer music, stayed. When his group failed to make progress fast enough, he fired off irate memos and abrasively talked down middle managers. Halfway through the project he demoralized the designers by demanding that they produce an entirely new look. He also irritated engineers by refusing to let them show Macintosh to friends, even though he was giving special peeks to outsiders like his onetime crush, Folk Singer Joan Baez,

D uring 1981 and 1982, while engineers and programmers labored over the Lisa and the Mac. the competition that developed between the divisions sometimes verged on fratricide. At one point a pirate flag flapped above the Mac building as an expression of battle. The Mac team was often condescending about the quality of Lisa and thought the bureaucracy in the larger division resembled that at a large corporation like IBM. Until early last year, the two computers, though superficially similar, might have been developed by separate companies. Programs written for one would not run on the other and the mice the two used were different. Mac engineers thought Lisa's slimline disc drive, code-named Twiggy, was so clumsy that they tried to design their own. Both disc drives turned out to be too expensive and were scrapped after a development cost of about \$6 million. Lisa and Mac now have a drive made by Sony.

While he was developing Mac. Jobs. who became Apple's chairman in 1981, was looking for a new president to guide the company. He ultimately recruited John Sculley, 44. from PepsiCo with a salary and bonus package worth \$2 million. Sculley soon began putting some order in the Apple crate. He started by easing out six of the firm's 15 senior executives. Two officials pictured in the company's annual report, which was mailed out only last month. no longer hold the same positions. Sculley, who often lapses into M.B.A .speak, describes his pruning of the work force from 5,300 to 4,600 as "infrastructure phasedown

Sculley has boosted Apple's advertis-



A new, automated \$20 million assembly line in California is built to match Japanese standards

ing budget by about 30%, but the new promotion has not always been successful. Apple's pre-Christmas television ads, produced by Flandhaner Director Adrian Lyne, were disliked by company directors and dismissed by one dealer as "nice foreign movies." Nonetheless, some of Apple's new ads are also unconventional. One early Mac spot features an Orwellian Bg Brother and looks like a rock video.

Sculley's most important task was to untangle Apple's line of computers. He compressed development immetables for he production of cheaper and more exer. He has also pushed work on a series of Lan product sand has tried to make them compatible with Mac. The new Lisas which range in price from 53,408 to 53,405, will run programs written for Mac. The pace has Listen its coll. Comworking their bans off 113 difficult to series working their bans off 113 difficult on working their bans off 113 difficult on stringht. We're age crazy schedules."

The early verdict of those who have used Mac is generally good. Says William Gates, chairman of Microsoft, the largest



Left to right, Red Delicious and Macintosh.

personal-computer software firm: "Macintosh is the only computer worth writing software for, apart from the IBM PC Says William Cranz, a Huntington Station. N.Y., computer dealer: Mac is light-years ahead of the IBM PC." Mac has some of the hallmarks that made the Apple II such a hit. The engineering is compact and elegant, and the machine is perhaps the first moderately priced computer that is easy to use. But Mac has some drawbacks. It is difficult to expand, has a small memory and does not have a color monitor. Apple will have a more powerful version out later in the year, but color is far in Mac's future. And although Mac can be linked to IBM mainframe computers, it will not run software written for the popular IBM PC

Jobs claims that 100 software companies are developing products for Mac, but only five programs will be available this week at its introduction. Versions of the industry's current bestsellers, like Lous 1-2-3, will not be ready until summer.

Apple hopes that Mac will appeal to small businesses and college students. The company believes that executives in small limits will not be associated to BM machines as their colleagues in major corporations. Aple already has assisted to BM machines as their colleagues in major corporations. The large and the student students are also been to assist the student students and the student students are also as a student of Software Publishing. Isased in Mountain View. Calif. "It may take Apple a year to learn how to sell Mac."

Apple must also make its brand-new \$20 million Mac factory run smoothly. Last week the factory, built to combat the manufacturing know-how of Japanese computer makers, was still having startup troubles.

The Mac represents a conclusive personal victory for Jobs in the battle of office politics. The final proof is that the company's Lisa and Mac divisions will soon merge, and he will take over as head of the combined group. But now the Master of Mac must wait and see whether the public approves his bold machine.

Press



On the set of Nightline: plain talk that d stimate the audience's intelligence

As Hot as He Is Cool

Ted Koppel brings sparkle and unflappability to television

t the outset of last week's televised de- | works with express-train speed and almost A bate among eight Democratic presidential candidates. Ted Koppel smiled into the camera and said. "The moderator will try to have complete control." That drew a laugh, but as usual, he was in earnest. Indeed, during the half of the debate that he moderated, Koppel, cool and cerebral, kept the discussion crisply controlled-and confirmed his reputation as perhaps the best serious interviewer on American TV

Koppel, 43, has established himself as the thinking person's anchor on ABC's lateevening news show Nightline, which since March 1980 has built an average audience ranging from 5.1 million to 6.8 million viewers for discussions of issues as sensitive as child abuse and as complex as nuclear war games. Unlike the early-evening anchors, who help select stories but have little role in the coverage of most of them. Koppel controls almost every word that is spoken during Nightline. Most of each show is live interviews conducted by him. Often he must interweave five or six participants who represent conflicting viewpoints and speak by satellite from several countries.

Koppel is adroit at interpreting other people's answers without seeming to put words into their mouths. He neatly exposes hypocrisy, but without raising his voice or resorting to rhetoric. On occasion he can become testy, as he did while interviewing a California district attorney who jailed a twelve-year-old for refusing to testify against her stepfather; but when he does let his feelings show, he quickly apologizes on air. His buttoned-down style and unflappable calm could make him seem dull, but he never lets an interview become repetitive. He thinks faster and more subtly than most other television reporters, yet always does his homework and never seems to be using his wit just to score points. Well versed in the details and jargon of Washington, he nonetheless talks about ideas in layman's terms: he often says that one must not overestimate the audience's specific knowledge or underestimate its intelligence. His most difficult feat is avoiding the twin pitfalls of overaggressiveness and overfamiliarity. Says U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick: "He is tough enough to make it interesting to engage in the discussion, but the questions are always straight and fair."

he New Hampshire debate may have Theen Koppel's most sensitive assignment ever, and he handled it ably but with restraint. He explains. "I could not be quite as tough as on Nightline. The point was not for me to elicit any particular piece of information or to trap someone in an inconsistency." Still, some of the discussion displayed him at his deflating best. When the candidates talked about cutting the military budget. Koppel asked which domestic military bases they considered unnecessary. When they kept emphasizing that none of them downgrade the importance of peace. Koppel noted. "In fairness. you don't think that the fellow in the White House does either, do you?

Four days later. Koppel took on another demanding showcase: his occasional ABC series Viewpoint, a live discussion of journalistic ethics with comment from the public. The show focused on the conflicting demands of freedom of information and national security. Among Koppel's strengths is that he almost never indulges in special pleading for his craft. Although he is somewhat conservative in a business that Viewpoint participants lambasted as liberal. Koppel was careful not to interject his views.

Last year Koppel was sounded out about, and rejected, the network's most coveted news job, anchor of World News Tonight. The post, vacated by the death of Frank Reynolds, went to Peter Jennings. Although the job might have boosted his reported \$700,000 salary. Koppel says he never wanted it. When ABC News President Roone Arledge telephoned to ask if he was interested. Koppel said. "Let me make it easier for you," and opted to stay on Nightline. His choice makes sense to TV journalists. Says CBS Morning News Anchor Diane Sawyer: "The format of Nightline has to be the envy of every serious broadcast journalist. He has control and, above all, time to explore a subject.

Koppel started in journalism in 1962 as a radio correspondent and three years later switched to ABC-TV. By 1969 he had become the TV network's Hong Kong bureau chief, and he spent nearly two years reporting from Viet Nam. During the Nixon and Ford Administrations, as a diplomatic correspondent, he logged more than 250,000 air miles

After a dozen years of dedicated careerism. Koppel astonished colleagues in 1976 by giving up his coveted beat and taking almost a year to be a house husband while his wife Grace Anne started law school. Says he: "I finally understood viscerally what women go through. People focus on those few months I took off and not on the years that my wife put her



The point was not to trap someone

career on hold." Koppel worked parttime anchoring an ABC weekend newscast until Arledge became president of ABC News in 1977 and stripped him of the job. His career remained in a slump until 1979, when he substituted for Reynolds on a late-night special newscast. Says Arledge: "We discovered Ted had this wonderful ability to keep the conversation going in a way that everyone could follow

Koppel was born in Britain, the only child of German Jews who fled Hitler's regime. His family moved to New York City when he was 13, and he grew up revering Edward R. Murrow and Alistair Cooke. After completing a B.A. at Syracuse, he received an M.A. in journalism at Stanford, where he met his wife.

The Koppels, their children (Andrea. 20: Deirdre, 18: Andrew, 13: and Tara, 12) and Grace Anne's father live in a modern house in Potomac. Md. They spend little time on Washington's social scene. Says NBC Correspondent Marvin Kalb, who collaborated with Koppel on a bestselling 1977 novel about diplomatic intrigue. In the National Interest: "Ted has very strong family feelings and does everything with dedication." Says Koppel: "Our idea of an enjoyable evening is dinner. usually Japanese, and a movie." His hobbies include reading, running, skiing and playing tennis. "I do them all at the same time," he says, with a lopsided grin.

In recent years, Koppel has seemed enough of a boy wonder to achieve just such impossibilities. He gets all but universal praise from journalists and from officials he has interviewed, for both skill and affability. "In all the years I've known Ted," says ABC Morning News Anchor Steve Bell, "I've yet to detect the flaw Koppel is even renowned among colleagues for quick humor and dead-on impersonations of Cary Grant, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger

Koppel has suffered one setback. Nightline, which since last April has been the only hourlong news show on any commercial network, will be cut back to half an hour on Feb. 8, coincidentally Koppel's 44th birthday. At the hour length, ratings sagged. Says Koppel: "We were on a downward spiral." Often the show gave a topic too much time, or jumbled together unrelated segments, some of them less than urgently newsworthy. Admits Executive Producer William Lord: "By thinking larger we diluted the focus of the show The biggest roadblocks, however, were local ABC affiliates When the show expanded. twelve stations dropped it outright and 18 began to delay its broadcast time; in all, only 123 of ABC's 211 affiliates were carrying the show live

Koppel spoke to executives of affiliates at a meeting in Dallas last week, and some 20 stations have pledged to pick up the new half-hour Nightline. The show's potential seems perhaps as sound as Koppel's. His view: "The spiral is going upward again Koppel remains hot enough and cool enough to propel it. - By William A. Henry III. Reported by Richard Bruns/New York and Christopher Redman/Washington

Religion

Struggling for Soul and Purse

Disgruntled Methodists challenge their biggest agency

he 9.5 million-member United Meth-Todist Church is a denomination in which smoking and drinking still carry the faint air of impropriety. Conservatism remains a powerful force in other ways: homosexuality has been openly condemned by the church as "incompatible with Christian teaching," and liberation theology is regarded by some Methodist clergy as the dogma of radical leftists Conservative members tend to blame their leaders' increasing liberalism for a serious decline in the church. Since 1968 membership has fallen by 1.5 million. Sunday-school enrollment is down by 3 million, and American Methodists sent abroad to spread the word as missionaries are down to a mere 531, a decline of 65%. The tensions between mem-

bers and administrators are now creating a damaging split over the church's biggest and most influential agency. the General Board of Global Ministries

The board, based in New York City, has an annual income of \$74 million, which is spent on ministering to both spiritual and material needs in the U.S. and in 45 foreign countries, particularly those of the Third World, But some of those who have provided Thomas: fearing radicals major financial support for the board, wealthy Methodist congregations in cities such as Dallas, Orlando and Tulsa, have been angered by what many regard as the agency's left-wing theology and politics. Next week a rival mission board, the Mission Society for United Methodists. will open for business in Atlanta with \$150,000 donated by large churches, and the hint of much more to come. "We can no longer support

the direction in which the Billings: social activist board has gone." says Ira Gallaway, a Peoria, III., pastor who is secretary of the new mission society

For the past ten years, conservatives in the church have been attacking the mission board in the pages of Good News, an independent Methodist magazine Last year, for example, the publication claimed that the board's headquarters staff was larger than the number of missionaries out in the field and that the head office consumed an unreasonable share of the agency's budget. The board replies that a large New York staff is necessary because of the scope of the agency's U.S. program Good News also complains that the board is replacing old-fashioned evangelism with a political crusade. Gallaway charges that the board is biased against hiring anyone who is not a political leftist advocating liberation theology and radical social change." Support for the mission society includes more moderate church members. L.D. Thomas Jr., the pastor of the First United Methodist Church of Tulsa and the new agency's chairman, gives a key reason for the widening dismay: the election last October of Peggy Billings, 55. to run the mission board's overseas division. She is, Thomas declares. "the most radical person" on the staff

The overseas division is central to what many Methodists continue to see as the major role of the church: spreading

John Wesley's zealous reviv alism around the world In 20 years on the board. Billings has been far more social activist than evangelist and a single-minded advocate of causes from abortion to nuclear disarmament. She is also closely identified with the liberal effort to end the church's opposition to homosexual activity, which is likely to be the most divisive issue at the Methodists' policymaking conference in May

Billings turns aside the conservative charges about the board's political drift and says she is only carrying out policies set by elected church delegates. Fewer missionaries have been sent overseas. she explains, simply because it is cheaper and more effective to use nationals to evangelize in their own countries. The board came under attack, she says, when U.S. congregations began to understand the importance of issues such as racism and discrimination against women:

"Maybe it's a world they're

The new rival in Atlanta does not bother Billings. She is confident that bishops and local church officials will ensure that the board continues to receive financial support from members. But if the biggest congregations continue their rebellion, the board could be in trouble. The Rev Leighton Farrell, whose Dallas church spends one-fourth of its \$4.2 million budget on foreign and domestic missions, argues that the creation of the new mission society was the only avenue open to frustrated Methodists. The old board, says Farrell, is "off track." .





Music



Marilyn Home in the title role: castles collapse, monsters writhe and dragons fly

Handel on the Stand

The Met stages Rinaldo, but does it do the composer justice?

For London audiences of the early 18th century. Italian opera mean theroic plots, lavish sets and dazing vocalism. It also meant a German-born composer with an anglexized name who had success with an anglexized name who had success the neighborhood around Coven Garden George Frideric Handel For almost 30 peak, Handel was the unquestioned maspeak, Handel was the unquestioned masper of the form. Despite has historic emier of the form. Despite has historic emiter of the form. Despite has historic emimetropilitan Opera sum tiggetextel by the Metropolitan Opera sum tiggetextel by the

Designed for the National Arts Center of Canada in 1982, the production stars Mezzo Marilyn Horne in one of her patented sword-and-breastplate roles. It is scenically spectacular. full of the kind of deus ex machina theatricality that so delighted baroque audiences: dragon-drawn chariots fly through the air belching smoke, monsters writhe and looming castles collapse in a heap of rubble. Bright and vivid. Rinaldo is a bauble for the eye; as sung by an imposing cast that includes Bass Samuel Ramey and Soprano Benita Valente, it is a treat for the car. But whether it serves Handel or the thorny cause of baroque opera faithfully is moot.

Like other composers of his day, Handel had a freewheing notion of textual fidelity. He cannibalized hit tunes from earlier works, revorte arias and substitutearlier works, revorte arias and substitutsents stylistic problems not encountered in the standard repertory. The plots, revolving around heress of anitquity, seem remote, and the operas lack ensembles trios, quartes, quintets—which war the texture. Instead, they are constructed of a chain of solo arias that illuminate a charsin do los arias that illuminate a dischain of solo arias that illuminate a distributed in the subscience of the internation of the solution of the internation means of the solutions.

The Met production is essentially a vehicle for Horne, in a title role composed for a castrato. The outlines of Handel's opera are preserved in the plot, which concerns the struggle for the Holy Land between the Crusaders, led by Rinaldo, and the Saracens, under Argante (Ramey) and the sorceress Armida (Soprano Edda Moser). But Martin Katz. Horne's longtime accompanist. has conflated the 1711 and 1731 versions, trimming the recitatives, shortening some arias, shuffling others and even adding a duet from Handel's Admeto. It may be argued that Katz is only following a convention to which Handel subscribed. Yet Katz is not Handel: the composer's instincts offer surer musical logic and dramatic shape.

Still, the production, conducted by Mario Bernardi, has its attractions. No one can match Horne in her nimble negotiation of the florid vocal line; she overwhelms its difficulties with an awesome display of rapid-fire articulation. As Almirena. Rinaldo's lover, Valente's limpid. graceful soprano contrasts appealingly with Ramey's dashing, formidable bass. The storybook sets by Mark Negin would have pleased even the most discriminating Londoners, and Frank Corsaro's direction is swift and adept: the climactic battle, a combative ballet for 16 acrobats, liberates Jerusalem with martial savagery. Evidently the Met has taken to heart the intentions of Aaron Hill, Rinaldo's first producer: "to frame some Dramma that, by different Incidents and Passions, might afford the Musick Scope to vary and display its Excellence, and fill the Eye with more delightful Prospects, so at once to give two Senses equal Pleasure." If only it had considered a third: Handel's good sense -By Michael Walsh

Last Songs

Six new Lennon oldies

E nough, now. The mourning, and all the indulgence that goes with it, ought to have been set aside. But patience, sympathy and sentiment—in finally impossible amounts—are what is needed for listening to Milk and Honey, twelve songs by John Lennon and Yoko Ono intended to follow up their Double Fantasy album, before murder intervened.

Recorded at the same time as Double Fantasy, the material on Milk and Honey reminds us that the earlier album was hardly top-form Lennon. Contented and uncertain and rambunctious by turnsand sometimes at once-Lennon's songs were a retrenchment, not a revelation. So much was always expected of him. He even wrote a song about it. I Don't Wanna Face It, a hard bit of self-deflation ("You wanna save humanity/ But it's people that you just can't stand") that is one of Milk and Honey's sharpest cuts. This song, according to the call-and-response style established by Double Fantasy, is answered by Ono's reassuring Don't Be Scared, which contains wisdom ("If your hearts are lit/ Drop your survival kit/ Then you never have to Run or split") that would be poor baim even to the troubled soul of a fortune-cookie writer.

The record opens with a scrappy declaration of Lennoneque independence. *I'm Stepping Out, but I Don't Wanna Face Ii fades* down with a clipped cry that sounds like a housebroken werewolf. The second side offers the unwelcome spectacle of Lennon, abject, begging (*Forgive Mel ML*) Little *Flower*

Princess, then following Ono's Let Me Count the Ways with Grow Old with Me. Yoko's album notes explain: 'John and I always thought, among many other things, that we were maybe the reincarnation of



Robert (Browning) and Liz [Elizabeth Barrett Browning]." Lennon wanted Grow Old with Me to be an anthem for occasions of ceremony and sentiment. like weddings and anniversaries. Just the sort of song, that is, that he twitted Paul McCartney for writing, although not even his ex-writing partner ever sniveled so stereophonically as Lennon as he serenades his flower princess. Ono does display a neat flash of wit in her final song: "In the world's eye. We were Laurel and Hardy In our minds We were Heathcliff and Cathy." But hagiography, even half comic, like this, should be resisted. Sentiment might make that hard. But Milk and Honey makes it a cinch. By Jay Cocks



Timeless gifts: Grant at 80

True, the carefully manicured haircut has gone from black to white, and the jaunty gait has lost some of its bounce. but the chiseled good looks and the smooth-as-silk charm are as timeless as a welltailored tuxedo. His last movie Walk, Don't Run, was released in 1966, but Cary Grant, who turned 80 last week, has never lost his Hollywood gloss-or his penchant for privacy. In an effort to keep his birthday "as low key as possible." the actor. born in England as Archie Leach, celebrated by staying home with his wife Barbara. 33, while calls and presents poured in from well-wishers. Old Friend Rex Harrison, 75 sent his love but reportedly could not resist adding, "How do you look like you do at 80? It's disgraceful." How does Grant explain his enduring appeal? "I'd like to think that I don't look my age, but I know I do," he says. "I may look good for my age, but that's something else.

"I was looking around for antidotes to my pain, which was partly the result of never having been alone before." Thus it was in 1973, after divorcing her second husband. that Deirdre Blomfield-Brown decided to change her name and her life by beginning a novitiate in the 2.500-yearold tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Today Ane Pema Chodron. 47. whose name means "lotus dharma torch." is executive director of a meditation center in Boulder, Colo., and

probably the only American woman to have been fully ordained as a Buddhist nun. The mother of two children and a former elementary school teacher in California and New Mexico, Chodron followed the path of enlightenment to Hong Kong. There she made more than 300 yows, including celibacy, abstinence from alcohol and never to handle money. travel alone or ride in a vehicle. Even so, next month she will fly to New York City to lead a seminar on Buddhist meditation and raise money for a Buddhist monastery in Nova Scotia. Abiding by Buddha's rules



Chodron at Buddhist shrine

is not always possible in the modern world, admits Chodron. "It is often necessary to live by the spirit of the vows."

In the sunny days before her free concert in New York City's Central Park last July. Singer Diana Ross, 39, made a generous offer: the proceeds from the TV taping of the show would be used to build a children's playground named after the erstwhile Supreme But when the event's promoters announced that a thunderstorm had washed away the profits, there were rumblings from Mayor Edward Koch's office suggesting that it was not just Ross who had been soaked. The dark cloud hanging over the affair turned out to have a silver lining last week when Ross presented Koch



Singing after the storm: Ross and Koch at city hall

with a \$250,000 check from her own pocket. "It's for the kids," said the singer, who donned an orange city-department-of-parks slicker to show that there were no hard feelings. Said Parks Commissioner Heavy Stem: "For \$250,000 you can get a small but exquisite playground." There was a time when it would buy a whole park.

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As the gutsy, globetrotting Marion in Raiders of the Lost Ark, Karen Allen, 32, established herself as a heroine with a flair for exotic adventure. But in Until September, which has just

finished filming in Paris, the Illinois-born actress finds some risky business in a setting that is more mundane, if no less romantic. This time Allen plays a horticulturist from St. Louis who takes a summer vacation in France and falls in love with a handsome French banker, played by Gallic Heartthrob Thierry Lhermitte, 30. The summer sweethearts make love in a bank vault and a bathtub. among other places. Allen says she speaks "bad French" but seems to have had no problem making herself understood. Looks like this is one time Indiana Jones didn't come to the rescue. - By Guy D. Garcia



Vive la différence: Allen and Lhermitte in scene from Until September

Theater

Once More into the Labyrinth

IAN MCKELLEN ACTING SHAKESPEARE

Casually dressed in white shirt and blue frozorser, he harries down the aisle like a schoolboy late for the class-play (tryouts, afraid the less parts may have already hene cast. But when he mount the mount of the start of the start of the start which can kain dure treations to the regalsense of ave seems to overcome himuble backclab brenedby, imparing the leak class brenedby, imparing the leak class brenedby, imparing construints of tradition gathered in the students of tradition subserved in the students of tradition subserved in the students of the start.

At 44, Ian McKellen is perhaps the most respected classical actor of his generation in England (and the creator, on Broadway, of the sinuous Salieri in Amadeus), but an adolescent's enthusiasm and wonder animate every moment of lan McKellen Acting Shakespeare, the oneman divertissement in which he opened last week on Broadway for a five-week engagement. First concocted in 1976 and intermittently toured ever since. the show is an amalgam of personal reminiscences. theatrical lore and selections from Will Shakespeare's Greatest Hits. It gives McKellen a sort of actor's holiday untrammeled by directorial "concepts" or other actors' demands

In his attempt to demystify and demythify "the Bard" (a phrase that would never escape his lips unless they were twisted satirically). McKellen establishes two reference points between himself and



McKellen in his one-man show A sense of playfulness in the playing.

Shakespare The first is that they were both helplessly smitch by the theater at tender argues (He imaginesa boyish Shakesparen falling) in bhindia a touring theatriparading down Stratford's main street he recells himself manipulating a cardboard Laurence Olivier and John Stratford's main street hou-theater production of Homites.¹ The second is that both grew up to be men of up for the memorable effect. Whany of his selections are in fact form speeches in which Shakespeare insisted on the stage as a metaphor for the world. A scholar might find this oversimplified, but show folks have always had to seek a humansize passageway into the labyrinth of the great Shakespearean texts. The cheerful energy this approach releases in McKellen and the air of confidentiality if gives his evening are entrancing.

Slight of build, with an eminently squinchy face. McKellen is not an overwhelmingly noble presence. His Shakespearean range is probably closer to Ralph Richardson's than Olivier's. But he has wit, a mime's command of body language, and the antic courage of an impressionist. There is wonderful calculation in the way he flings himself about the stage and trots through history giving persuasive impersonations of predecessors like Richard Burbage and David Garrick, as well as such critics as Pepys and Shaw. McKellen, at one point, even does a passable imitation of himself. If his Romeo is perhaps too much a modern teen-ager, or his Macbeth more empurpled than it should be, there is illuminating humor in his rendering of Hamlet's advice to the players in the manner of a rather fey modern director giving notes to his company. And his notion that Shakespeare's kings have "the temperaments of actors" leads to a very human yet still theatrically compelling reading of Richard II's "Death of Kings' speech

Seeking neither to define nor to grandly impose. McKellen is merely admitting the secret all good actors share: even the greatest play is best approached as an excuse for child's play, where the meaning hides, the actor seeks, and the only potential winners are the audience. Like those at Acting Shakepare. — By Richard Schleder

RECOVERING. Jimmy Carter, 59. noted chairmaker, author (*Keeping Faith*) and former U.S. President; after hospitalization in Atlanta; from minor surgery to remove hemorrhoids; in Plains, Ga.

PETITION DENIED. TO Elizabeth Bouvia, 26, cerebral palsy victim who has fought for the right to starve herself to death in a hospital because she is tired of life in "a useless body"; by a California Supreme Court affirmation of earlier decisions to throw out her plea.

ARRESTED, Paul McCartney, 41, megarich ex-Beatle and rock video star (Say Say Say, Piper of Peace), and his wife Linda McCartev, 42, 5 Loh for possession of marijuana, he for the fourth time in twelve years, she for the first time sense 1975, in Barbados Fined \$100 cach, the McCartney was arrested at Heahrow Ariport, again on possession charges. Said McCartney 'f d like to see it pol decriminalized.''

Milestones

DED. Johmy Weissmuller, 79, record-setting swimmer (five Olympic gold medals) turned cinematic Tarzan (twelve movies) in Acapulco. Mexico. "They gave me a Gstring," he claimed of his MGM bosses, "and said. Can you climb a tree"." Weissmuller, the archetypal Hollypersonal life highlighted by five failed marriages and a portfolio of foolish business ventures.

DIED. John Coventry Smith, 80, a leader of the U.S. Protestant missionary movement and a former president of the World Council of Churches: after a heart attack. in Abington, Pa. Smith. A Presbyterian, played avital role in the postwar movements toward interdenominational unity and the independence of Third World churches.

DIED. Gardner D. Stout, 80. investment banker and president emeritus of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, in Stamford, Conn. A wildlife enthusiast, he raised about \$25 million for the institution and opened four notable exhibition halls during his tenure as unsalaried president (1968-75).

DIED. Mawrice Beliorte, 87, French navigator and radio operator on the first nonstop Paris-to-New York transatlantie flight. in Paris In 1930 Belionte and Pilot Dieudonne Costes reversed Charles. Lindberg/b 1927 course in their crismon Breguet sequiplane Question Mark Taking of from Le Bourget airfield, they landed 37 hr. 18 min. and 3.400 miles later at Cursis Field in Valles Stream. N Y

DED. Tran Van Hau, 87. Prime Minister of Viet Nam from 1950 to 1952, in Paris, Huu, a wealthy financier, based his pro-French Vietnamese government on his country's small upper class, exited his ablest political associates and ignored French pleas to fight insurgent forces of the Communist Viet Minh. In June 1952 Huu was fired by Viet Nam's chief of state. (he Emeror Bao Dai

74

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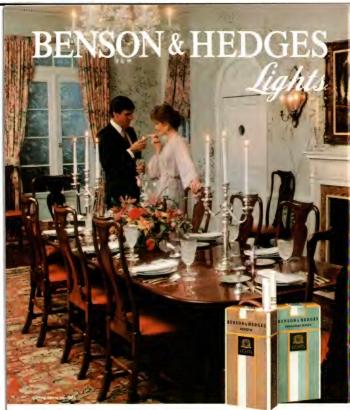
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Books

Crime and Punishment

DOSTOEVSKY: THE YEARS OF ORDEAL, 1850-1859 by Joseph Frank: Princeton; 320 pages; \$25

N early 30 years ago, Critic Joseph Frank was preparing a series of lectures on European postwar existentialism. He thought Dostoevsky's Notes from Underground might be a good place to begin his survey. The 19th century Russian author had, after all, practically invented the isolated. sometimes criminally antisocial hero whose type kept reappearing in the works of Camus and Sartre. The more Frank read Dostoevsky, though, the less interested he became in contemporary writers. Notes from Underground, not to mention the towering achievements of The Brothers Karamazov and Crime and Punishment, raised hordes of questions that had nothing to do with existentialism. The largest of these: What, besides genius, went into the composition of Dostoevsky's fiction?

This book is the second installment of Frank's answer, which is scheduled to run to five volumes: the first. Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt. 1821-1849, was published in 1976. Like its predecessor, Dostoevsky: The Years of Ordeal, 1850-1859 brilliantly combines biography with intellectual history. The essential facts are Dostoevsky: reprieved and pushed toward mystic presented, but not a day-by-day

chronicle of trivialities. Those who want to know how many logs the author piled in a fireplace during a given night will have to look elsewhere. Readers curious about how Dostoevsky translated experience into ideas and then into art can welcome Frank as an indispensable guide.

The ten years covered here pummeled Dostoevsky into the figure the world now remembers. Before then, he had been a promising young writer, fashionable for a while but then sliding out of favor in the volatile literary world of St. Petersburg. He had also heard and read enough about European socialism to become a parlor radical. He and approximately 60 other youthful idealists met regularly to discuss political matters, among them the emancipation of the serfs. Tsar Nicholas I learned of such seditious talk and decided to crack down. The suspected conspirators were arrested and, after a thorough investigation, roughly one-quarter of them, including Dostoevsky, were publicly sentenced to death. As orchestrated by Nicholas, the firing squad was called off at the last minute, with the first three victims already bound to their stakes. Dostoevsky learned that the Tsar had lightened his punishment to four years at hard labor and then an indefinite enlistment in the Russian army



Excerpt

Almsgiving from the population reached a peak during the religious holidays; but it was continual all through the year, and sometimes took the form of money handed to the convicts as they shuffled through the streets of Omsk in a work convoy. The first time Dostoevsky received alms in this way was 'soon after my arrival in prison A ten-year-old girl-the daughter of a young soldier, who had seen Dostoevsky in the army hospital when she came to visit her dying fatherpassed him walking under escort and ran back to give him a coin.

There, poor unfortunate, take a kopek, for Christ's sake," she cried, overtaking me and thrusting the coin in my hand ... I treasured that kopek for a long time.' This last assertion is literally true: Dostoevsky's second wife confirms that he kept it as a memento for many years and was very upset when it was lost ...

The sudden reprieve from certain death understandably pushed Dostoevsky toward mysticism. "Life is a gift," he wrote several hours after being spared. "life is happiness, every minute can be an eternity of happiness." Life in a Siberian prison compound dampened such

enthusiasm. His fellow inmates were chiefly peasants, the very people he had hoped to emancipate from the crushing system that enslaved them, but they turned out to be murderous. thieving, brawling brutes who detested him. Dostoevsky notes: "Their hatred for the gentry knew no bounds. and therefore they received us, the gentlemen, with hostility and malicious joy in our troubles. They would have eaten us alive, given the chance '

prison life meant bitterly cold winters, the loss of all written contact with relatives and friends. the abolition of privacy in the cramped sleeping quarters, and the constant threat of violence from both jailers and the jailed. This regimen did not break Dostoevsky: it inspired him to see himself and those around him in a strange new light. He had been the dupe of a foreign ideology. which had seduced him toward treason: the other convicts, beneath their horrid exteriors, manifested a beatific, instinctively Christian and compassionate Slavic soul. Writes Frank: It has often been said that Dos-

toevsky discovered the 'evil' of 'human nature' in the prison camp, and that this discovery frightened him into an acceptance of a supernatural faith as the sole bulwark of morality against the inherent corruption of mankind If any discovery was made, it was rather exactly the opposite: Dostoevsky found that most of the peasant-convicts were far better people than he could possibly have be-

lieved at first. The author's hard-won discovery of diamonds in this filth" has given rise to another assumption that Frank would like to refute: "One often reads that, after a certain point, the distinction between right and wrong began to blur for Dostoevsky himself, and that he came to admire criminals for their 'strength' (as Stendhal had done earlier and Nietzsche was to do later)." Frank's narrative and evidence prove that Dostoevsky's long exile made him a fierce patriot and moralist, insistent that individual acts incur inescapable responsibility. It is only selected Western eyes that have seen the experimenting murderer Raskolnikov as the hero of a novel simply called Crime.

The picture of Dostoevsky emerging in Frank's pages looks less and less like the avatar of existentialism; he was a sensitive, moody, deep intellect responding to tumultuous current events more than a

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century ago. And the best is yet to come When Dostoevsky returned to St. Petersburg, late in 1859, he was approaching 40. mired in an unhappy marriage and faced with the task of building his literary reputation all over again. His great works were still years away. Biographer Frank. 65. a professor of comparative literature at Princeton, promises that the "third volume is in the final stages of revision. and should not take too long to appear after the publication of the present one." Given the fascinating story that has been spun so far, yesterday will not be soon enough. -By Paul Grav

Wonder Boy

JED HARRIS: THE CURSE OF GENIUS by Martin Gottfried Little, Brown; 280 pages; \$19.95

George Abbott was so affronted by his Gehicanery over royalies that he refused to speak to him for the rest of his life. E. Cummings acted out a pantomime at a party, in his presence, that compared him to a cockroach. George S. Kaufman sardonically asked to be cremated after death so that the ashes could be flung in his face.

Jed Harris was a man of great gifts, none greater than his capacity to inspire bitter hatreds. He burst upon Broadway in the 1920s, a charismatic, rather sinister Yale dropout and former pressagent convinced that he could produce and direct plays better than anybody else. He seemed to be right. By the age of 28. Harris had four hits running in the same year. including The Royal Family and The Front Page; he was earning \$40,000 a week and was acclaimed as the Wonder Boy of Broadway. "His self-belief was hypnotic," said Playwright S.N. Behrman, who got his start working for Harris. "He simply knew he was destined for mastery." The legend, said another contemporary playwright. "threw a shadow across the theater that endured for 50 years and no one escaped it.

His eye for scripts and performers was acute, his ideas ichen bloid and original, and his folgaence—imparted in a notioriuom-galvanizing. "I never hard anyoue genee auch he excitement and the interest that that man had," siaid Lillian Gish, who returned from Hollywood to star in Harris 1990 staging of *Unele Vany*. He rought off such notable productions as its world premiere (1938) and *The Heires* (1947).

But, as Biographer Martin Gottfried writes, he also seemed driven to direct peuple's lives, to browbeat or seduce them, to call them in the middle of the night, commandeer their households or tear up their contracts when it suited him. Moss Hart testified that the prayer of ex-

Books

erg aspiring playwright was."Please God, let Jed Harris of my play." Nevertheless, with playwrights from Ben Hecht to Thornton Wilder, he imposed marathon revisions and usually ended by demanding a co-author redix and half the royalties. When he directed Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* in 1953. he responded to an out-of-town audience's calls for the auhorby bg ing onstage and taking a bow.

Moments before a nervos Jaurence Oliver made his entrance in The Green Bay Tree, on opening night. Harris said o him backstage. "Goodbye, Larry. I hope I never see you again." (Olivier would later and harris." I hought of the most senal person I knew. The said. After Acties Martharris. "In dought of the most senal person I knew. The said. After Acties Mar-Harris in the martiel Elim. Drestor Wiliam Wujker. Harris phoned their house and whispered to Wyler. "You're a weak, untalenced man married to a woman who isin love with me."

Gottfried, a former drama critic for Women's Wear Daily, has his own acute eve for the revealing anecdote and the scurrilous item. Much of his book amounts to a history of the theater from the '20s through the '40s. On psychology he is less secure: Harris' compulsions are tentatively explained away as an unconscious desire for revenge on the family he loathed and as an overreaction to anti-Semitism. Harris. born Jacob Horowitz. had three marriages. all of them miserable. His second produced a daughter, to whom he paid scant notice, and Actress Ruth Gordon bore him an illegitimate son, to whom he paid even less ("What are you doing," he once barked when the teen-age boy approached him in a theater lobby after a two-year separation, "following me?").

The Heiress was the director's last hit. His friend and fellow producer Jean Dalrymple described him when he was 49 as



Ego, prompted by sheer passion.

"a man who had been Jed Harris. 'Ile lived for another 30 years, finaling deals that he had ittle intention of following up, peronifying arrogance while beuncing peronifying arrogance while beuncing showed up at the California home of Judith Anderson, another old romance. Characteristically proposing to move in with her and work on his "books." She broken old drugs,' he had beome.

Neël Coward, reminiscing about Harris in 1937, admired ha skills and charm but added: "L couldn't help wondering how long it would be before led's ego, prompted by sheer passion, ate up every strap of him." As Gottifried's diverting, if shallow, account shows, few people were as perceptive as Coward Most spotted the self-destruction later. Harris never did. — **B** Christopher Peterfield

Child Sacrifice

TALES FROM THE SECRET ANNEX by Anne Frank Doubleday; 136 pages; \$14.95

11 a spite of everything, I still believe that people are really good at heart." Anne Frank's final words in the play that bears her name seem to belie her fate. She died at 15 in the Bergen-Belsen death camp. Was she merely expressing the naive wishes of a child? What could such an adolescent comprehend of the world?

As her surviving appers prove, the terminos grit knew all too well the lessons of degradation and inhumanity. But refused to turn her back on the contations of nature, learning and love. The proof resides in Anne Frank's Tales from the Secret Annes, argung of stories, fables, essays and reminiscences that she kept in the Secret Annes. Though some of these anyters pound. Though some of these native Duch, they are making their first appearances in hand cover, sympathetically translated by Ralph Manheim and Michel Mok.

The arrival is long overdue. To be sure, among these entries are minor and childish writings: a recollection of having cheated in a math exam. an unsuccessful attempt at light verse. But most of the 30 pieces show a heartbreaking potential. For Anne, nuances are crucial and all experiences are carefully assayed, even those that come in the Franks' pitiable Amsterdam refuge behind a wall, temporarily safe from the Nazis. Occasionally she succumbs to depression, and a line concentrates the tragedy of her people: "To be interrupted just as you are think-ing of a glorious future!" Yet Anne's mind is too agile and her imagination too febrile for enduring self-pity

In Dreams of Movie Stardom she constructs a Hollywood that never was, where the '30s stars Lola, Priscilla and Rosemary Lane invite her to join them. Like Kafka's Amerika, Anne's New



Pieces that show a heartbreaking potential.

World is a fanciful arena of high-speed miracles, within days she becomes a photographer's model. But the attendant publicity and the rigors of studio assignments prove unendurable: in the end Anne is happy to fly back to Holland. After all, she notes ruefully. "I had had a close look at the way celebrities live."

Jack boots sound in the streets, and fear is so palpable it can be tasted in the evening soup, but Anne spends a day worrying about the pathological Duch dislike of nudity. In *The Sink of Iniquity* she protests, "Modelay and prudishness can go too far. Do you put clothes on flowers wheny difficult formin don't thus word wheny difficult formin don't thus word we be ashamed of the way nature has dressed us?"

It is in the fables that the young author's gifts are best displayed, as if confinement had forced her to think in brief. ironic parables. In Blurry, the Explorer, a bear cub ventures into a human city and becomes the intimate-and the guarryof dogs, cars and people. At last he returns to his mother. "I wanted to discover the world," he explains. "And did you discover it?" "No, no ... not really; you see. I couldn't find it!" In Eve's Dream, plants display a variety of personalities. as they do in the tales of Andersen and Grimm. The rose turns out to be a miserable beauty with a catty voice. The chestnut is strong but egotistical; "The trees and flowers know this. When they are in trouble they go to the sympathetic pine.

There is, of ocurse, no way to determine what kind of writer Anne Frank might have become Child scriftler is a tragedy beyond works, and it is scarely matters whether a genus or an ordinary clutter perished in the Holoausat. It is only certain that her final volume is a testimory to a green takent and a marker involunble moral lesson of her diary. (if is implausible to idin farewell to anguish, it is impossible to close the book on tope. — **by State Kater**



Cruise Lines



Isabelle Huppert: sugar and steel

Woman Talk

ENTRE NOUS Directed and Written by Diane Kurys

Here's a generalization to ponder: American movies are male: French films are female. Hollywood has always been a tough-guy's town, with its strutting moguls and its smile-when-you-call-mean-artist directors. And the virtues it has traditionally valued are masculine ones: energy, efficiency, power, animus, each melodramatic plot resolved with a sock to the jaw. From French films one has come to expect delicacy, grace, comradely tenderness, a ruminative intelligence. Their directors seem to inhabit an exalted sorority where girlish high spirits, sage whispers and rueful endearments reverberate in the hallways. So leave it to French Film Maker Diane Kurys to devise, in Entre Nous, a bittersweet domestic epic that reconciles feminism with femininity

In personal as well as international relations, wartime France created odd alliances and fierce resistance. Lena (Isabelle Huppert), a Belgian Jew. emerged from an internment camp with her sad-sack husband Michel (Guy Marchand) and a handmade marital straitiacket. Madeleine (Miou Miou) saw her glamorous first husband die from enemy gunfire in the town square, then fell into a pleasureless marriage with a slimy hustler named Costa (Jean-Pierre Bacri). By 1952, when most of Entre Nous takes place, each woman is eager to escape the emotional claustrophobia of cooking the meals. chaperoning the children, counterfeiting passion as Monsieur Wrong rolls toward her in bed. To the anger and chagrin of their husbands, Lena and Madeleine find that ecstatic escape in each other's souls.

Entre Nous looks at its characters

Cinema

with an acute bifocal vision. The women are modern feminist figures marooned in the stay-at-home '50s: the men's attitudes. sympathetic at the time, have a touch of the Neanderthal about them today. Kurys' achievement is to be both critical and understanding about both periods and all four people. Is Lena a brave enough revolutionary to open her own boutique? Then she will be stern enough to parade her indifference before Michel. Is he a jealous brute who will beat his wife and try to demolish her store? Yes-and he will plead with Lena (in the film's most affecting scene) to help him reconstruct his fantasy of a happy marriage. Does Madeleine have every right to desert the sleazy Costa? Of course-but in doing so she follows her star, at least temporarily, right out of Lena's life.

There is one more question-Do these loving women become lovers?that Kurys, with a discretion worthy of the '50s, allows the viewer's imagination to answer. Her direction of two terrific actresses is just as discreet and telling. Huppert, too often the ice maiden of French movies (The Lacemaker, Loulou), merges sugar and steel to embody the superior, frustrated Lena, In her face and gestures. Miou Miou finds reasons for each of Madeleine's enigmatic quirks. Marchand is splendid too; he can trip over his feelings or break the viewer's heart with equal dexterity. At film's end Kurys reveals that Marchand and Huppert are playing the director's own parents, 30 troubled years ago. Autobiography is often the excuse for retrospective vindictiveness, but Kurys is too mixed in her sympathies, too talented at her craft, to harbor such notions. She knows that filming well is the best -By Richard Corliss revense

Lady in the Dark

CONFIDENTIALLY YOURS Directed by François Truffaut Screenplay by François Truffaut, Suzanne Schiffman and Jean Aurel

Murder, adultery, more murder: an inmocent man with a guilty look about his actions: a beautiful secretary who believes in him when everyone else has him tried and convicted, a wise private eye and a less than canny police inspector. Neon lights, inky shadows, rain glistening on the dark streets, an odd moment or two devoted to tough-guy philosophizing.

Confidentially Yaura looks at first like François Truffau's nostaligic tribute to that signature genre of the 1940s. the film noir. It figures, as Bogie might say in one of those murky oldies. After all, it was the French who named the style, and Truffaut is a director with an affectionate regard for the movies' past glories and a flair for paying them homage.



Fanny Ardant: a grownup Nancy Drew

But he is too good a director to content himself with mere mannerism. In adapting Charles Williams' 1962 thriller The Long Saturday Night, he and his cowriters have done more than change the setting from Alabama to the Côte d'Azur. They have also shifted the balance of the narrative. The central figure is no longer the male victim of a plot to make him take the rap for several murders. In the role of this unlucky real estate agent. Jean-Louis Trintignant must content himself with moping about and rather churlishly criticizing the brisk, brave and far-darting efforts of Barbara, his secretary. to clear his name. It is a disciplined, selfless performance.

Fanny Ardant as his office helpmate is a wonder. Legg and sensible, with a knowing yet modest air, she puts one in mind of a grownup Nancy Drew, though Nancy was never required to pose as a prosititute in order to crack a case. Ardant literally wears the trench coat in this picthe wardrobe kut a subtly knowing wit betokens pleasure in the ironies of role reversal.

It is not misplaced. In the old noirs, women were mostly seen as black widow spiders. luring the wimpish male toward his doom. Placing a new, healthy vision of female strength in the old context is a beguiling notion. Not that Truffaut lingers over his cleverness in providing recall with a subtext. Mostly he is concerned with driving his vehicle along at a great pace, so that no one notices the occasional knocks in the engine or the potholes in the plot. With help from his cinematographer. Nestor Almendros, who perfectly captures the sleazy artiness of those longago B pictures. Truffaut runs the course with splendid panache. Confidentially Yours is a smart entertainment, especially for those with a long and indulgent movie memory -By Richard Schickel

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Show Business

Viewing a Farce from Behind

The comedy hit Noises Off is a triumph of slapstick choreography

Each night at 10:45, crowds stream out of Broadway's Brooks Atkinson Theater limp and disheveled, gasping for breath and wiping their eyes. Much as they may appear to be fleeing tear gas or a smoke bomb, these people are in fact the happy victims of a very different kind of explosion. They have just spent more than

Noises Off the farce by Britain's Michael Frayn that is the comedy hit of the season. The show recounts the misadventures of a troupe of fifth-rate actors as they perform a sex farce titled Nothing On during a fleabag provincial tour. The plot of Nothing On involves a ditzy maid in an English country house, a wayward plate of sardines, an illicit couple, a licit couple dodging the taxman. a sheik and a bibulous burglar. Doors slam (the set contains seven of them) and trousers drop with dizzving abandon

In theater parlance, noises off refers to commotion in the wings. In Frayn's play, the noises off are the backstage yelps and battle cries of the actors, who are entangled in a sex farce of their own. Frayn's most novel stroke is to set his second act behind the scenes at a performance of Nothing On. While the players on the far side of the scenery invisibly sing out their lines, those on the near side conduct a frenzied pantomime with a wine bottle, a cactus plant, bouquets of flowers, a fireman's ax. shoelaces tied together and assorted other slapstick paraphernalia. It is a pas de neuf so ingeniously choreographed that the antics in the back-to-back farces dialogue interlock in mid-air

The idea for Notes Off ocburget to Fayn, So, a well-known British farceur and satirist, one night in 1970 as he stoed in the wings of a London theater watching a performance of a quickchange, arms-flapping farce he had written for Lynn Redgrave and Richard Brifont." recalls Frayn." and I chought. 'One day I must write a farce from behind."

When he finally got around to it, the play cost him a year of agonizing effort. "I didn't know if actors would even be able to perform it." says Frayn. "If I could have thought of a way to write a program for the second act, I would have learned to use a computer. Instead. I just had to try to remember where all nine actors and all the characters in *Nothing On* were at every moment. I often felt that I had come to the end of the bytes in my brain, that I had exceeded the capacity of my memory store."

happy victims of a very different kind of explosion. They have just spent more than two hours howling and guffawing to his friend Michael Blakemore. an



coincide precisely, while lines of Whitehead, Loudon, Murray, Thorson (with ax) and Garber on the set dialogue interlock in mid-air. Bruises, splinters, broken toes and keeping the third ear out.

Australian-born director who had staged Frayn's 1980 comedy Make and Break as well as several notable productions at Britain's National Theater. Blakemore came up with such good suggestions for staging that Frayn rewrote most of the play. It worked. *Noises* Off opend sensationally in London two years ago and has been playing to packed houses ever since.

The physically demanding farce, however, has already exhausted two sets of actors and is currently warring down a third. Blakemore rehearsed two of the three London casts and so was well prepared when he arrived in New York to train the Broadway team for a December opening, he brough this whistle. Says he "Once the rehearsal for the second act gets started, there is terrific noise on one side of the backdrop and tremendous physical energy on the other. It is like a motor car out of control and very hard to bring to a stop, so I have to use a whistle."

The Broadway players were suitably daunted by the exacting precision of Blakemore's instructions and Frayn's stage directions (the script for the second act has two columns to describe the simultaneous goings-on of the two farces). Says Actress Deborah Rush, who plays a spaced-out tax auditor in *Nothing* On: "They knew just how many breaths

were required between the opening and closing of a door." Brian Murray, the beleaguered director of Nathing On, recalls that just before rehearsals began. "Michael Blakemore called us together and told us that in two weeks we'd wish we were dead."

In the second act, the playwithin-a-play is like a metronome. Says Paxton Whitehead. who plays the dithery tax dodger of Nothing On: "Everything in the front of the set is timed to the voices in the back. We always have to have the third ear out. Murray recalls one occasion when Victor Garber, portraying a lecherous real estate agent in Nothing On, inadvertently placed the prop wine bottle two inches away from its appointed spot: "This meant that Douglas Seale [the pixilated burglarl couldn't reach it. Doug brushed it, knocked it over. I reached for it, fumbled it and dropped it between us. We're talking a couple of inches, but that's crucial. The audience is suspended on a tightrope with us. If we stop, they lose their involvement.

The comic have of Noises Off means peril at every step for the actors. Says Garber, who somersaults down a flight of stairs into a pratfall every night: "I still say a little prayer each time I begin." Dorothy Loudon, the maid in Nothing On, has lost 25 this, suf-

fered two broken toes and two bruised ribs and has a trachea infection from the strain on her voice "I'm so black and blue I haven't worn a dress for weeks," she says. Linda Thorson, whose Nothing On role is the tax dodger's wife, has lost 10 lbs. Virtually all the cast have cuts, bruises or splinters to show for their pains. and Seale. 70. has developed bursitis in his knee. Whitehead sums up the experience by telling the story of a man who went to visit Edmund Gwenn as the vintage actor languished on his deathbed. "It must be hard, very hard, Ed." the friend offered. "It is." Gwenn replied. "But not as hard as farce." And not nearly as funny. -By Denise Worrell. Reported by Elaine Dutka

TIME JANUARY 30, 1984

Education

Blowing the Whistle on Johnny

If he can't read, says a Texan, why let him play ball?

he \$6.1 million football stadium in | are about the only place in the public Todessa, Texas, rises Mecca-like above the flatlands. It has seating for 19,032 people, parking for 4.756 cars, and boasts a press box and a booth for coaches. The playing field, 18 ft. below ground level, is topped with AstroTurf. This stadium was not designed for the Cowboys or the Oilers. It is for two high school teams: the Permian Panthers and their crosstown rivals, the Odessa Bronchos. The head coach at Permian earns \$43,000 a year, a whole lot more than the average Permian teacher's salary of about \$24,500 Says Charles Broughton, principal of Permian High: "Some communities choose to build a \$10 million library or a \$20 million civic center. This community

school system where we demand excellence from our children."

It is a complaint that is widely echoed Across the country, school boards are tightening up on extracurricular activities. For the past year, Los Angeles has had a regulation requiring a C average and no failing grades for students participating in any nonacademic activities. Says School Board Member Rita Walters: "We had to reinforce the academic mission of the schools " The Prince George's County. Md., board of education last year also introduced the C-average rule. The Idaho board of education decided last October that a student who misses more than 10% of classes because of extracurricular



Perot, left, and Governor White listen to a coach at a meeting on school problems in Dallas A crusade to put money into academics instead of AstroTuri

chose to build a sports complex for its | young people. A winning football team and a strong academic program are not mutually exclusive."

H. Ross Perot. 53, a Texan who has earned millions from the computer industry, disagrees. After loudly criticizing Texas schools' obsession with football. marching bands and baton twirling, he has been named by Governor Mark White to head a committee to try to reform public schools in Texas. It is likely to be an uphill struggle. Texas students spend an average of one hour a night on academic studies and as much as 15 to 20 hours a week on extracurricular activities. At least 600 of the state's 1,100 districts allocate all of their local school revenues to extracurricular activities, leaving the state to pay for academic costs. Complains Perot: "Extracurricular activities activities will be marked as absent from school. In Milwaukee a student is denied participation in nonacademic activities after four unexcused absences from schoolin Minneapolis activities are ruled out for students who fail more than two courses. Even colleges are concerned: the National Collegiate Athletic Association (N.C.A.A.) considered a resolution at its annual meeting this month that would have allowed university presidents to set higher academic standards for athletes

In some communities students have endorsed these restrictions. Says Troy Bell, vice president of the Maryland Association of Student Councils: "The C rule will put an accent on academics." But in other districts the new rules have brought a lot of boos. In Los Angeles, the Hollywood High School football team has lost all but two of its 38 returning varsity players because of poor academic performance. The 21-member band was wiped out when 14 students could not maintain a C average and seven had one or more F's. Says Barry Brown, director of athletics and varsity football at Hollywood High: "The rule has killed our program, and it's killed the spirit of the school

Nowhere, though, does cutting back on sports and other activities strike deeper in the heart than in Texas. Perot has already scored a few points in his fight to put extracurriculars in a supporting role. The state's University Interscholastic League, which governs school extracurricular activities, has passed guidelines permitting students in programs such as tennis and golf to miss no more than ten days of school a year in order to compete in tournaments. The dapper Texan wants much more. Classes, he says, should be held year-round with short seasonal breaks. and extracurricular activities should be restricted to the end of the day and be only for students in good academic standing. Also advocated by Perot: a thorough grounding in math, science and literature. and the building of a core curriculum. Says he: "It's very important that we don't turn out technological robots who confuse data and wisdom." Perot, who is chairman of Electronic Data Systems Corp., a computer-services firm, has won the support of Texas' leading businessmen. largely because of his assertion that a better-educated work force will strengthen the state's

But he is becoming very unpopular in a state where football is an obsession. Athletic Director Charles Qualls of Mesquite insists. "If you remove athletics. I'm afraid you will lose a lot of kids out of school." Tim Edwards, a Fort Worth coach, points out that Perot sent his children to private schools. He says, "Here comes a guy in his Learjet saying it's athletics that is the problem in our schools. He doesn't see how it prepares students to be well-rounded people." Meeting in Dallas with state coaches last week. Perot chided: "It is like saving if a boy is not on the team, he'll be out robbing 7-Eleven stores."

One of Perot's suggestions is winning applause: more money must be paid to teachers. At Round Rock High, about 20 miles from Austin, the average teacher's salary is \$17,000 (the football coach makes \$44,000). One teacher who has taught business at Round Rock for more than a decade has decided to quit. Says she: "An injustice is being done here. People are yelling and screaming about our football record, and meanwhile Johnny still can't do simple math or English exercises." Perot is equally adamant that too much play makes Johnny a dull student. 'It's a question of priorities." he says. "We will still have athletic teams, we will still have bands, but these won't be the forces that drive education. -By Ellie McGrath. Reported by Leslie Cauley/Odessa

Environment

Pouring Oil on Troubled Waters

The new Interior chief launches a policy of compromise

hen the ugly tide of black oil fouled W the white beaches around Santa Barbara, Calif., in 1969, killing untold numbers of birds, seals and fish, few people were more appalled than William Clark. A top aide to then California Governor Ronald Reagan, Clark closely watched the progress of the multimilliondollar cleanup that followed the oil-rig blowout, one of the worst environmental disasters in U.S. history. Today, as successor to the divisive James Watt in the post of Secretary of the Interior. Clark likes to recall that calamitous experience to let environmentalists know that he shares their concerns about the dangers of drilling for oil off America's shores.

Such reassurances, however cosmetic,

are all the more welcome after a Supreme Court decision this month that sent jitters through the ranks of state and environmental officials in coastal areas. By a 5-to-4 vote, the tribunal ruled that the Federal Government can ignore the objections of affected states at the time the Interior Department offers oil- or gas-drilling leases on the continental shell the sloping underwater strip of land at a continent's edge. The Federal Government has traditionally controlled all drilling on the shelf beyond three miles, except off Texas and Florida, which maintain a ten-mile jurisdiction.*

The decision, written by Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, involves 29 tracts, totaling 165,000 acres, in the Santa Maria basin off the California coast between Morro Bay and Point Con- Chevron oil rig on federal leasehold in Santa Barbara Channel bara. Geologists have estimated

there may be as much as I billion bbl. of | in U.S. waters since the Santa Barbara acoil in the entire basin. The sections had initially been freed up for lease by the Interior Department in 1981. But California managed to block the proposed arrangement on the ground that the Interior Department had refused to determine whether the leasing met the state's stringent environmental standards. In the new ruling, the court, overturning lower-court decisions, held that an environmental review is not required before an actual sale under the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, a congressional law that gives states a voice in offshore oil development by the Federal Government.

The decision was a victory for the Reagan Administration and oil interests. Both

*Citing as precedent their history as former Spanish territories that exerted control to a distance of three leagues, or about ten miles

have been seeking quicker access to the vast wealth of the continental shelf, an estimated 44 billion bbl. of oil, nearly half again as much as all proven reserves. (The U.S. gets about 10% of its domestic production from offshore wells.) However, Clark immediately moved to reassure the coastal states and environmentalists. Under his stewardship, he said, the Interior Department will seek to avoid the battling that characterized the offshore-leasing program in the past, even while it continues to pursue essentially the same prodevelopment policies as those of his predecessor. Said Clark: "We can work as partners.

That will not be easy. Although no maoffshore-well blowouts have occurred



ception, northwest of Santa Bar- The Administration's view: "Why buy an unnecessary fight?"

cident, and the technology for plugging an out-of-control well has vastly improved, environmentalists are worried that chronic, low-level oil pollution could be devastating to such rich fishing grounds as the Georges Bank off New England. They also fear that drill rigs off Alaska, a site of suspected major reserves, could be wrecked by errant ice floes, spreading crude oil over the fragile Arctic terrain.

Under Watt, many of these concerns were either ignored or minimized. Interior officials liked to point out that natural underwater seeps off California's Coal Oil Point, near Santa Barbara, alone released at least four times as much oil as the 5,700 bbl, spilled annually in offshore production within U.S. waters. In July 1981, as a matter of highest national priority, Watt announced a program to lease nearly all of the outer shelf, a total of a billion acres. in five years. He offered up huge tracts (as much as 40 million acres at a time) and cut the period between announcement of a lease to actual sale from 42 months to 22 months. Reacting to this steamroller, the states fought back with delaying tactics and a gusher of lawsuits. The result: a stalemate that held off some drilling and. not incidentally, hurt the Treasury (offshore leasing is its biggest source of revenue after taxes). As Elizabeth Raisbeck, an offshore oil specialist for the Friends of the Earth, saw it, "It was a leasing program out of control."

When he succeeded Watt last November, the more judicious Clark, who in fact was a California Supreme Court justice from 1973 to 1981, promptly removed the two Interior officials most closely identified with Watt's leasing policies. He postponed indefinitely two bitterly fought sales: one in Southern California, scheduled for April, the other in the Georges

Bank, to have been held in May, Environmental concerns, he added in a speech following the Supreme Court decision, would be addressed as early as possible in the leasing process. He also promised that offshore tracts of little interest to the oil industry but of great environmental value would not be nominated for leasing. The Clark view, said an Interior official, is "Why buy an unnecessary fight?"

One of Reagan's most trusted political advisers. Clark is eager to repair the President's image in an election year. Indeed, he has already sent a number of small fencemending signals to the environmental community. Reversing a Watt policy, he offered the National Wildlife Federation hithertorefused federal data on the amount of poisonous lead shot that duck hunters inadvertently scatter into lakes and ponds. With that gesture. he buried the hatchet with the larg-

est conservation group in the U.S. Clark also promised that he would end the moratorium imposed by Watt on acquiring new land for the national parks and wildlife refuges, a major irritant to outdoor groups, to say nothing of Congress, which had voted \$157 million for the purchases. Finally, he has been passing the peace pipe at private meetings with key environmental leaders like the Wildlife Federation's Jay D. Hair and William Turnage, head of the Wilderness Society. As Clark has made plain, however, in the matter of offshore leasing as well as other conservation issues, the fundamental tenets of Reagan's controlled leasing program will remain unchanged. Still, as the conciliatory Clark put it in summing up his policy. "There should be no winners or losers." -By Frederic Golden Reported by Jay Branegan/Washington and William R. Doerner/San Francisco

Sexes

The Comeback of Womanly Wiles

A feminist writes about the return of femininity

E ven her critics concede that Susan Browmiller's turing is impeccable. In 1975, at the height of the feminist fusilade against male power, abe brought out Against Our Will, a bestselling study of rape. Now, after five years of effort, she has written Feminitity (Linden Press' Simon & Schuster; S14 95), an ambivalent lament about the resurgence of feminine wiles at a time of lower expectations for women. It was very hard not to appear to a misograins while writing this book."

she says. "I was called a man hater for writing the rape book, and now, oh God, people are going to think I'm against women."

Brownmiller's thesis, somewhat reluctantly broached, is that femininity ("a nostalgic tradition of imposed limitations") is making a comeback because of the fierce competition among women for men and jobs. "Men are in shorter supply than ever," she says. "The rise of the gay male population has been extraordinary, and it has left a reservoir of desperate women." New York City, for example, has about 500,000 more females than males, as well as a male homosexual population estimated at 300,000 to 400,000. "This is something we never envisioned in the feminist movement," says Brownmiller. "We thought we could collect our grievances and present them to men. Fifteen years later the men aren't there, and there is no one to listen to the complaints."

Women are responding to this pressure, she writes, in a familiar prefeminist way: limiting their expectations, deferring to men and spending much time and treasure on fashion and cosmetics. "Whenever life and liberty get too tough for women, they resort to the age-old stratesy of surresort to the age-old stratesy of sur-

vival," she says with a cheerless laugh. "If you don't hold the cards, you have to be more careful, more sensitive to what goes on at the table, and you have to know how to bluff."

Brownmiller. 48, is a veteran journalist and a founder of the 7.000-member Women Against Pornography, which determine the second that it determines that the leave up devoed to the arts of ferminity, first intratiously practicing cute eye rolls and nose crimking in front of a mirror; for years she placed herself "in permanent bondage to the lizabeth Arden." Feminism changed rows and the stopped vesting 'too Brownmiller had stopped vesting rows and stopped vesting resease and stopped vesting and makeup and given up shaving her legs. "If the evidence had to be wiped out on sight," she writes of body hair, "a proper female body shouldn't be growing the stuff at all." Like many other feminists, she came to see corsets as a way of containerizing the female body for the satisfaction of males.

Still, the trappings of femininity proved hard to eradicate. Writes Brownmiller: "Women are all female impersonators to some degree." She still sucks in her



stomach when passing a group of construction workers and automatically settles into a sofa with a kittenish curl. After some hesitation, she decided to dye the gray of her hair, and now bleaches her legs to avoid looking peculiar on the beach. She writes: "I wonder if I'm the only woman in the world who puts color into the hair on her head while she takes color out of the hair on her legs in order to appear feminine enough for convention." When the no-shaving ethic overtook feminism. "I saw the emergence of several bearded women. Peach fuzz, really, ... but nonetheless a ground cover of surprising, dense growth. I was shocked and wished they would do something about it ...

Chapter by chapter, Brownmiller ticks off the codes that govern feminine

behavior in such categories as body, hair, clothes, vice, novement and emotion. The body points out that physiology can bones and agile infigures give women a greater aptitude for such traditional works as waving, seiving, haiting and weeding the sawaring, seiving, hinting, making pottery, sowing, planting and weeding the sawaring seiving and the same "clearing the land and breaking the das-"Clearing the land and breaking the dasby of small parts, exacting kitchen sueurosurery."

Apart from the obvious physical disparities between men and women ("on the average, the difference in pitch be-

tween men's and women's voices is almost a full octave"). Brownmiller writes from the implied premise that there are no significant natural differences between the sexes. Therefore it follows that femininity is a social construct, built on top of femaleness in response to committee femininity is "an exquisite esthetic in essence a romantis semiment."

. In essence a formanic sentiment for her that includes such traditional female autributes as need for protecupredictability, giving way to tears at moments of emotion and even manners. "The charge that feminists have no manners is true." she writes. Reason: feminine manners are a codified way for the weak to supplicate the strong.

Brownniller is mournal but chipbrer about the return of femininty. "You could say this book is written in a feminine style," she says, "fashionably thin and slender, filde took was writen in a maculine style. I marshaled all the evidence and sent out the panzer divisions. A West Coast feminist called the other day and complained that there is no call to arms at the end of this book, but you

Against Our Will outraged many readers, particularly because of one line that blamed all men for the persistence of rape. Sexual assault. Brownmiller contended, is "a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear." That sentence, she now concedes, was carelessly written. What she meant to say is that all men benefit from the action of rapists, because rape makes all women fearful and less likely to challenge men. Her new book contains no villains. Women who adopt a feminine style are simply trapped and cannot be condemned. "It occurred to me while writing the book." she says wistfully, "that feminism is not for everyone. -By John Leo

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